

THE NEW LEADER

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of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

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TIMELY TOPICS

By Thomas
I had written so far when I read that our dear old friend, the Citizens' Union, had come out against both the Democratic and Republican housing bills. It also is more afraid of socialism than it is interested in housing. And I am somewhat skeptical whether the particular sections of the Constitution and Laws of the State of New York which it quotes give the city all the power that it needs. Nevertheless, we Socialists have always held that the city ought to use all the power it has and demand more if necessary. Whatever laws the State may or may not pass, the city administration has an enormous responsibility, which cannot be dodged by trying to pass the buck to Albany. Big Brother Al put little Jimmy in the Mayor's chair, but he can't forever do all his thinking for him.

"Twenty-five per cent. of the tenants in New York City are not as well housed as are most of the criminals." Sounds like an argument for better housing, doesn't it? But guess again, my children. The man from whom we quote is the landlord's friend, Stewart Browne, foe to all housing legislation. He doesn't want better houses; he wants worse prisons. Incidentally, the gentle creature would like to have criminals hanged twice—once to kill them, and the other time to make a public spectacle. It's cheaper to hang criminals twice than to provide the kind of homes that will produce fewer criminals.

Why are heads being smashed and boys imprisoned for singing in Passaic? In defense of the "right" of owners to get something for nothing. Let us face facts. The textile industry, including the Passaic woolen mills, cut wages 10 per cent. on the plea of poverty. Profits in the Botany mills at Passaic for the seven years ending December 31, 1923, averaged \$93 per year on each \$100 share. The stockholders took this out in a shrewd financial reorganization. They made 479,000 no-par certificates grow where 34,000 shares had grown before, and even last year, for all this talk of poverty, they paid a dividend on this swollen capitalization.

This same sort of thing has happened generally in the textile industry. The great Pacific Mills increased their stocks more than thirteen-fold in twelve years. A hundred-dollar share thus becomes thirteen shares, and a 2 per cent. dividend on this watered stock would be 26 per cent. on the original investment. Please remember that while the owners were doing so well in these boom years, and while all of us were paying outrageously high tariffs, ostensibly to preserve American standards of living, the textile worker in the cotton industry was averaging \$17.30 a week, according to the report of the Department of Commerce. This was in 1923. Since then wages have been cut 10 per cent. This bare statement of fact illustrates at its naked worst the injustice of the capitalist system. No talk of changing fashions, overproduction and foreign competition can excuse the mill owners who seek to take food out of the mouths of little children so that they can have interest on capital which they never invested.

The workers have nothing to hope from any sense of shame in the owners. (Continued on page 3)

LIBERTY PROVES INTRUDER IN CAPITAL

Congressmen Turn Hysterical When Faced by Civil Liberties Union

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON.—Scenes reminiscent of the hysterical times of 1917-18 were enacted by Chairman Albert Johnson and Rep. Free of California in the House committee on immigration when spokesmen for the American Civil Liberties Union, in a formal hearing on deportation bills, tried to present their views. Relatively courteous treatment was given Prof. Ernst Freund of the law school of Chicago University, who made various constructive criticisms and suggestions. He urged chiefly the right of aliens to the presumption of lawful entry, whereas the proposed changes in the law would make it incumbent on the alien to prove his right to be here.

When Francis Fisher Kane, former federal district attorney at Philadelphia, suggested that the United States, having brought resident aliens under the draft act during the war, owes them certain duties, Johnson and Free began to make hostile comments. Free said that he "had to be guarded from these flounders"—alien gunmen—for six months at one time, and he disputed Kane's view that deportation would not solve the problem of gunman violence in Chicago.

When Free claimed that the churches were the chief element demanding deportation of alien bootleggers, the Civil Liberties Union representative Allen S. Olmsted, 24, of Philadelphia, introduced Dr. W. L. Darby, secretary of the Federal Council of Churches national bureau in Washington. Mr. Darby read the formal action of the council's administrative committee, opposing the deportation and alien registration measures as being harsh and productive of ill-feeling and injustice. He was soon interrupted by Free, who had discovered a copy of a statement on the hearing which the Civil Liberties Union had prepared for the press. In a loud and bullying tone Free called attention to the fact that not all the speakers mentioned in this statement had actually appeared, and that the committee had not permitted discussion of the alien registration bill. Johnson and Free then tried to force an apology for the issuance of this statement. Explanation, but no apology, was given.

Johnson then began demanding of the Civil Liberties Union representatives the whereabouts of Roger N. (Continued on page 3)

Coal Mining Blasts Are All Preventable, U. S. Official Asserts

Despite the fact that disastrous explosions often happen in the coal mines of the United States, there is a positive means of preventing such calamities, according to Scott Turner, Director of the Bureau of Mines.

"The Bureau has conclusively proved that rock-dusting of bituminous mines is a sure remedy for these wide-sweeping explosions," Mr. Turner declared. "By rock-dusting, I mean the spreading of incombustible dust throughout a mine in sufficient amount to cool and extinguish the flame of an incipient explosion."

FURRIERS' STRIKE IN SEVENTH WEEK

Central Trades Votes New York Strikers Full Endorsement

THE seventh week of the furriers' strike in New York City is closing with every prospect of a complete victory for the fur workers. On Feb. 16, after the Fur Manufacturers' Association had locked out its workers, following the expiration of the agreement, the Union called a general strike which completely paralyzed the industry. This is a 100 per cent strike involving 12,000 men and women in every branch of the trade. The Union is demanding a forty-hour week, equal distribution of work in the shop, no overtime, a 25 per cent increase in wages over the present scale, which has been in effect since 1918, and an unemployment insurance fund, to which employers contribute 3 per cent of their weekly salary budget and which shall be administered by the Union. Many shops have already settled on the Union's terms, and several hundred workers have returned to their jobs.

A large number of Union members have been arrested since the strike began and charged in most cases with disorderly conduct. Actually they have been guilty of no disorder, but have been peacefully picketing their shops, as they are legally entitled to do. In many cases the strikers have been promptly dismissed when their cases were heard by a magistrate. But there have been two magistrates whose antagonism to the strikers was clearly (Continued on page 3)

COOLIDGE, TAFT SHARE STEEL SWAG

Profits Jumped \$12,000,000 in Year, but Wages Stayed Down

By Leland Olds

HOW Steel Trust employees were gyped out of their share of the increased prosperity of 1925 is revealed in the annual report of Gary's Industrial Autocracy. If his workers had been given the same proportion of what they produced as they received in 1924 the average annual pay would have been \$1,953. But this is \$125 more than they actually received. Profits, however, went up \$12,000,000.

The 249,833 employees of the U. S. Steel Corporation produced in 1925 goods which the trust sold for \$928,150,726. This figure does not include a large amount of inter-company business, which raises the gross business of the corporation to \$1,406,505,000. For their work the employees received \$456,740,355 in wages. In 1924 the 246,753 workers turned out products which sold for \$842,969,442 and received \$442,468,577 in wages. Thus the receipts of the corporation for the workers' products increased \$55,131,284, or 10 per cent, while the wages paid for the actual work increased only \$14,281,778, just over 3 per cent. The increase in corporation receipts was six times the increase in wages.

The increase over 1924 in the company's receipts per worker was nine times the increase in the average wage paid the individual worker for the work. The company's gross sales per worker increased from \$3,412 in 1924 to \$5,716 in 1925, or 68 per cent. The average wage increased from \$1,794 to \$1,825, only 1.7 per cent.

Last year's Steel Trust profit gives the holders of common stock a return of \$12.85 a share. The average stockholder owns 56 2/3 shares, this means an average return of \$727 to people who contributed no work whatsoever to carrying on the industry. A year ago the average return to stockholders was \$666. The big financiers got a much larger chunk than the average stockholder. George F. Baker with his 58,650 shares got over \$750,000 of last year's profit compared with about \$690,000 he got in 1924.

President Coolidge's 50 shares bring him \$643 for doing nothing. This is more than the average worker in the corporation gets in wages for four months' work. Chief Justice Taft is also a stockholder. So was the late President Wilson.

This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of U. S. Steel. Since 1901 (Continued on page 3)

Berger Asks Congress Kill Espionage Statute

Bethlen to Fall and Carry Horthy With Him, Is View Of Hungarian Socialist Here

As a result of his implication in the franc-forgery scandal, Premier Bethlen is due to fall. In his downfall, the Hungarian Premier will carry Dictator Horthy with him.

This is the interpretation of the trend of current Hungarian events brought here by Ferenc Gondor, noted Hungarian Socialist journalist, who was director of the press during the early part of the Bela Kun government.

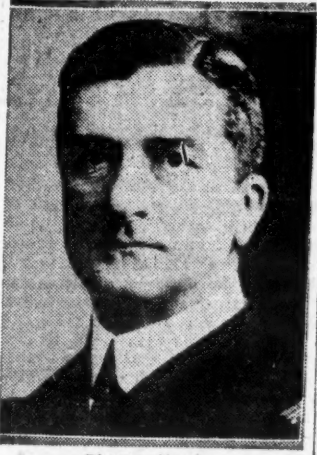
After having battled for free speech for 20 years, Gondor arrived in this country last month to find himself assailed by Hungarians on the extreme right and on the extreme left. The reactionists here have attacked him for his telling exposures of Horthy's bloody deeds. The Communists, likewise, have trained their guns on him because he quit the Bela Kun government in protest against the unbridled dictatorship and has been a severe critic of Communist dictatorship ever since.

Threats have been hurled upon him by reactionary and Communist, warning him against speaking here. Aroused by these threats, 15 Hungarian social and literary organizations have banded together to hold a meeting Sunday afternoon, April 11, in the Central Opera House. Gondor will be the principal speaker. Algernon Lee will speak on behalf of the Socialist Party. The arrangements committee has invited a representative of the Civil Liberties Union to speak.

Gondor declared that though Bethlen may not have been instrumental in actually perpetrating the forging of counterfeit francs, there is a well fixed suspicion that he is not innocent of having inspired the scheme in which a number of prominent former Hungarian royalists have been implicated. "As long as the Horthy dictatorship and its plant servants attacked and murdered workers alone there was no protest from the world," Gondor said. "Now that high party men in Hungary have been found to be part of a plot to forge money, the cry of protest is loud and long. The life of the workers means nothing; the inviolability of money is sacred. Yet the forging of the francs is a natural development of the free hand the world capitalists have given the Hungarian murderers, perpetrators of the White Terror."

"The fall of Bethlen will not bring a left government to power," Gondor declared, "but it will end Horthy's rule and will bring a conservative government which will be more tolerant of (Continued on page 3)

Fall Predicted



Dictator Horthy

the rights of the masses. It will be the beginning of the end of the reaction." Gondor has lived in Vienna for the last seven years—ever since his flight from an attempt of the Bela Kun government to punish him for his stand for the rights of the Socialist party even under a Communist dictatorship. He said the great constructive force of the powerful Austrian Social Democracy has proved that there is no place for Communism. In the face of the militancy and effectiveness of the Socialist Party there is practically no Vienna Communist organization at all, even though the Socialists permit the freest political propaganda.

In Hungary, and later in Vienna, Gondor was the editor of "The Ember," which did the pioneer work against the Horthy dictatorship, giving the newspapers of the world the leads which later brought complete exposure of the Regent's brutal regime. With the death of his son, who was at all times an able aide, Gondor was forced to give up his paper. There is already a growing demand here that he stay and take up the work of rehabilitating the Socialist Hungarian organizations in this country.

Reign of Terror Law Still on Books—Would Be Effective if War Is Declared

Berger Defends Civil Liberties Union in House

Rep. Victor Berger, Socialist, answering charges against the American Civil Liberties Union and other liberal forces, put into the Congressional Record by Rep. Blanton of Texas, flayed Blanton's absolutist attitude and defended the war objectors.

Berger recalled the charges made by the Socialist party that the war was basically imperialistic, and declared that time had proven the Socialists right. Denial by the attorney general of the United States, even now, that there is such a thing as a political crime, Berger likened to the blind denial by the czarist government in old Russia that political crimes could be recognized.

WASHINGTON.—Congressman Victor L. Berger, Socialist, Wisconsin, has added to the long list of progressive demands he has made on Congress, one urging the repeal of the Espionage act.

The Espionage act, under which the governmental reign of terror was waged against radicals and progressives during the war, is still on the statute books, Congressman Berger pointed out.

Contrary to general belief, the law is not dead. Under a resolution introduced in Congress terminating operation of the law for the present, it is to be revived automatically the moment the United States enters another war.

Congressman Berger charged that the Espionage act was never used for its vaunted purpose—to track down German government agents here. Rather, he said, it was used by the Democratic administration to silence critics of its war policies.

Congressman Berger, himself, was indicted and convicted under the Espionage act, but his conviction was later set aside by a higher court. The most prominent victim of the act was Eugene V. Debs, now national chairman of the Socialist Party.

A DIGEST OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

Passaic Strike Continues

The strike of the textile workers in Passaic continues, and hope of an investigation by the Senate Committee on Manufactures expired when the committee by a vote of 6 to 2 postponed action for a week. It is interesting to observe the solidarity of quite a number of Senators with the textile masters of Passaic, some of these Senators being capitalists with large holdings of their own. We expect this attitude in the upper Diet of American capital but one would expect a more far-sighted view on the part of responsible executives of American unions. It is reported that the United Textile Workers is not prepared to take in such a large number of workers as are involved in this strike which appears to us as shortsighted considering that such a substantial increase in membership would in the end materially strengthen the union. President Green of the A. F. of L. on the other hand, takes the position that the A. F. of L. can do nothing without the consent and co-operation of the United Textile Workers. A strict interpretation of his powers will justify this attitude by Green but that interpretation is not always observed. The A. F. of L. has occasionally in its history sent its representatives to the scene of a spontaneous strike of workers and in the case of the railroad brotherhoods it did not maintain this attitude of aloofness when they were involved in a struggle with the railroad masters a few years ago. Meantime, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have sent large shipments of foodstuffs to the strikers, and other unions have followed this example. This review would not be complete without mention of the fact that the Communists find Socialist Congressman Berger a "lackey of the bourgeoisie" for introducing his resolution to investigate the strike, while Shipplackoff of the Pocketbook Makers' Union is trying to "sabotage" the strike because he insists on orderly methods in collecting funds for the strikers. Now our readers have all the "news."

Mussolini in A Contradiction

Immediately after the making of a bombastic speech by Benito Mussolini on March 23 at the celebration in Rome of the seventh birthday of Fascism, in which he repeated and emphasized his usual claims that the black shirts had saved Italy from all sorts of disasters and that other nations ought to be "cleaned up" in the same way, came the news of the resignation of Roberto Farinacci from the secretaryship of the Fascist Party. Although it is possible that the "wild man" will be shifted to a place in Il Duce's cabinet and will not really lose his influence for violence, it may be significant that the Italian censor allowed the New York Tribune's correspondent to send out a lengthy story to the effect that Mussolini was sensitive to foreign criticism after all, despite his numerous disclaimers, and that he now felt Fascism was so consolidated that it would be possible to drop terrorism and return to a "legal" regime. The failure of American investors to snap up the \$100,000,000 Morgan loan and the opposition in the U. S. Senate to ratification of the Italian debt "settlement" combined with the almost openly avowed hostility to Fascism of nearly every European statesman of any account, may have finally led the self-styled Caesar to understand that modern Italy cannot live long without the friendship, or at least the toleration, of the rest of the world, and that he can hardly emulate his model and send his Iron Legions marching around the Mediterranean and across Gaul levying tribute and imposing a Roman peace. Of course, substitution of "legal" oppression, with Luigi Federzoni, Minister of the Interior, as Il Duce's right-hand man instead of Farinacci, would mean little to the world's "Liberals" for a while and bolster up a dictatorship soon due for the scrap heap of history. Echoes of the mock trial of Matteotti's murderers continue to fill the air and the press, and the clumsy whitewashing by the

Chieti court fails to cover up the instigator of the crime.

Encouraging The Ku Kluxers

Mexico was before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House this week, and Mother Margaret Semple, who was deported from Mexico, made the startling admission that Ambassador Sheffield had urged her before leaving Mexico to "talk loudly and at length" about her experiences with the Mexican Government. Congressman Boylan of New York has a resolution before the committee favoring severing of diplomatic relations with Mexico until Mexican laws in relation to education and the Catholic Church "justify" official relations. A number of prominent Catholics appeared in support of the resolution. It is just such activities that have promoted the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and similar stupidities in this country. This union of oil and clerical interests in an attempt to boss Mexico is about the most brazen thing that has been staged in a generation. Charles W. Darr, representing Archbishop Curley of Baltimore, made a statement against Mexican legislation that is remarkably similar to the manifestoes of prominent New England Federalists in 1800 against the Jeffersonians. Timothy Dwight recoiled in terror at the American Jacobins and Illuminati who would destroy the church and de-throne God. Mr. Carr sees Mexican and reducing Mexicans "to the state of materialism which knows no duties and respects no obligations." Even if Mexico intended this program, we have no more business to interfere than we have to interfere if similar legislation were enacted in England or Holland. But the fact is that the Mexican Government is trying to carry out a program of separation of Church and State. Moreover, it is significant that those who are protesting against this legislation never raised their voices against the cruel slavery endured by workers of their own faith in Mexico

when, under Diaz, union of Church and State prevailed. If this reactionary faction of the church desires to revive the Klan, it could not do more to serve the Klan than it has at Washington.

French Rule in Unhappy Syria

France's imperialism is still making Syria safe for France's imperial army of occupation in that unhappy country. The French massacres in Damascus last year vividly dramatized what the extension of capitalist rule into weaker countries means for the population. Since that bloody affair Syria has been held down by French armed forces and a wireless to the Times Tuesday gives some idea of what is happening. The Druses are not cowed by the massacres. On the contrary, they are so active that railroad lines and stations have to be guarded by soldiers to prevent destruction. The Times correspondent writes that a train he boarded "carries 250 soldiers with machine guns mounted on an armored car at the end. The tracks are protected by barbed wire at principal points in the passes and at every station there are one or more blockhouses with a company of soldiers and a 75-centimeter gun. The Pruses raid the stations in turn and the troops fire back to prevent them from destroying the railway line. Two of the stations have been burned and other property destroyed during the last ten days. It looks little different from what France did back of the lines in 1918." Moreover, a work train with an armored car at each end preceded the train on which the correspondent traveled and this scout train carried another 200 soldiers. The reader may fill in the details of the picture. What is evident is that French capitalist rule is hated in Syria and its "mandate" can only be held by ruthless force. When the mandate system was designed at the Paris peace conference, it was expounded on the basis of a big brother taking care of a little one until he comes of age. French capitalism will have all the little mem-

bers of the family at rest in graves within a decade.

Labor Victory in Paris Elections

Cold chills have been sent down the spine of the French bourgeoisie by the election of two labor representatives to the Chamber of Deputies last Sunday from the Second Paris District, and the reactionaries have another good reason for trying to postpone general elections as long as they can. So wrought up were the Nationalists by the defeat of their candidates by a Communist-Socialist-Radical combination in the second trial at the polls that some would-be Fascists, dubbed blue shirts, made a violent demonstration in the streets, which resulted in clashes with Communists, Socialists and the police. A young blue shirt named Maurice Ridaud was so badly hurt when the police rushed a crowd of Nationalists trying to parade before the official residence of President Doumergue that he died shortly afterwards. It is possible that the French blue shirts were trying to follow the advice contained in a recent open letter from some Italian Fascist urging the breaking of Socialist heads and a march on Paris. If so, they made a poor beginning. What worries the French reaction the most is the fact that the elections in the Second District have shown that the workers do not intend to divide their forces when it comes to a showdown between labor and Fascism, regardless of how much the Socialists and Communists may fight among themselves. And even some of the Socialistic Radicals are lining up on the side of the workers. In the first balloting, on March 14, the Communists received 38,160 and 28,115 votes, respectively; the Socialists, 15,620 and 15,368; the Socialistic Radicals, 11,736 and 11,596; and the Nationalists, 47,163 and 47,028. Last Sunday the Communists (supported by the Socialists and Socialistic Radicals) polled about 63,200 apiece to 61,600 for the Nationalists.

The Quarterly
AND
Annual Meeting

OF THE
NEW LEADER ASSOCIATION

WILL BE HELD ON
FRIDAY, APRIL 9th
at 8:30 P. M.

AT THE
PEOPLE'S HOUSE
7 East 15th Street

Very important business will be transacted, including a full report of the condition of the New Leader, election of officers and members of the Board of Directors.

Every member of the Association is urged to attend.

A special appeal is made to every member of the party to attend this meeting and become a member of the association.

MORRIS BERMAN, President.
JULIUS GERBER, Secretary.

The Field of Labor

Labor's Picketing Bill Assailed by Employers

Trenton, N. J.—Legality of the law sponsored by organized labor to define and specifically permit peaceful picketing in New Jersey is already being assailed by the Manufacturers' Association. The bill passed by a majority of one vote after being amended to eliminate mass picketing possibilities and provide that peaceful pickets be ten feet apart. The bill was almost lost on one of the senator's desks in an effort to smother it at the close of the legislative session for the year.

Dressmakers Get Stiff Sentences

New York.—Three striking dressmakers got 15 to 30 day sentences and another a \$15 fine on charges of assaulting a shopkeeper. The woman manufacturer alleged that she had been attacked by the pickets. She said only 21 out of 55 non-union workers remained in her shop as result of picketing. The sentences will probably be appealed.

Garment Workers' Unemployment Increases

New York.—Two studies prepared by Morris Kolchin, chief statistician for the Bureau of research of the coat and suit industry, for guidance of the governor's advisory commission in the industry, show increasing unemployment for women's garment workers. In 1925 the number of weeks employment in inside manufacturing shops decreased from 40 to 37.4 and in sub-manufacturing shops decreased from 31.5 to 26.8. The average annual income of the workers consequently fell from \$1,875 in sub-manufacturing shops to \$1,375 from \$2,016 in inside shops to \$1,874.

Philadelphia Unions Have Labor Social Center

Philadelphia, Pa.—Dedication of the Philadelphia Labor Institute gives Quaker City workers a real social center. The famous old Music Hall building where Jenny Lind once sang has been purchased and made over by various local unions, the Socialist party and Workmen's Circle, at a cost of \$250,000. The women's and men's garment unions, fur workers, upholsterers, cap makers and other unions participated. The building has an auditorium seating 1,500 swimming pool, gymnasium, office space for unions, library and classrooms for some of the Philadelphia Labor College work.

More Panhandle Miners Strike

Wheeling, W. Va.—One thousand seven hundred miners of the Elm Grove Coal Company are called on strike to enforce the Jacksonville agreement. Strikes affect 2,500 other miners.

Randolph Addresses Los Angeles Central Council

A. Philip Randolph, editor of The Messenger and general organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, addressed a big meeting of the Los Angeles Central Trades and Labor Council. He showed why it was so essential for white workers to back the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, indicating that a victory for one group of workers was a victory for all, regardless of race, creed, or color. Great interest was shown in his attack on race prejudice among workers. Randolph forcefully emphasized that the greedy capitalist dogs were running away with the meat in the form of high profits, while the black and white working class dogs were only left the bone of starvation wages, because they were wasting their time quarreling over race prejudice, which only kept them apart, and benefited the bosses. He urged the white workers to join hands with their black brothers in the fight for more and better education, food, clothing and housing. The talk was received with deafening applause. At the end the president of the Council arose and said that in the name of the workers of Los Angeles he pledged the support of the Council to the Brotherhood and wished it godspeed.

Bakers' Union Adds Locals

Chicago.—Undismayed by the anti-union drive of the nation-wide bread trust, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International union announces two new local charters granted, one to Laramie, Wyo., and one to New London, Conn.

Atlantic Coast Line Telegrapher Strike Ends

St. Louis.—The loss of a battle now and then cannot weaken the campaign of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers to secure justice, decent conditions, and adequate wages and freedom to choose their own representatives," declares The Railroad Telegrapher in announcing that the five-month strike of the Atlantic Coast Line was called off March 15. "While the strike has not been won, the object of the men who struck has been gained, the road being compelled to raise wages. Agents, towermen and telegraphers were involved.

Ironworkers Get More Pay

Scranton, Pa.—Scranton bridge and structural ironworkers in local 23 get 12½ cents an hour more pay beginning May 1. This brings the rate to \$1.37½ per hour, \$11 for the eight-hour day worked.

Amalgamated Sends \$2,000 to Passaic Strikers

Chicago.—A \$2,000 check for the Passaic, N. J., textile strikers is on its way east from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' union of Chicago.

Rail Super Wants to Settle Workers Alone

Boston.—Boston & Maine Shop Superintendent H. L. Leighton does not want a United States labor department conciliation commissioner hear him deal with discharged Billerica shopmen. Leighton had agreed to let each worker come to him with an outside representative, but when United States Conciliation Commissioner Charles G. Wood and Assistant United States District Attorney E. R. Hale came with the group of railway shopmen, Leighton would not allow the government representatives to remain at the hearings. The workers left in a body, as they had come, under agreement that each should represent the others as counsel. The shopmen later sent a letter to the superintendent of Boston & Maine's mechanical department, giving their version of the affair and asking for a fair hearing with government representatives allowed.

Revival of Shop Craft Unions Coming?

New York.—New York railroad executives look on the demand of Lehigh Valley Railroad telegraphers for a 10 percent wage increase and improved working conditions as a possible forerunner of a similar national demand by this union and of attempts by federated shopcraft unions to return to influence. The rail heads expect that all groups of railroad labor will make their tests of the Watson-Parker bill if it is passed as expected. Lehigh telegraphers get 62 cents an hour maximum.

Cleaning and Dyeing Employers Yield to Unions

The employers' association of the cleaning and dyeing industry of New York yielded to the demands of the union by the renewing of the agreement. The employers for a long time threatened a lock-out unless the union would grant a twenty-five per cent reduction in wages and the elimination of other conditions which the workers have gained through past strikes.

The union, however, refused to yield to any of these demands, and was prepared to declare a general strike if the employers had insisted in pressing them. The employers finally yielded and renewed their agreement, placing a security of \$20,000 with the union for the faithful carrying out of the agreement.

The workers of this industry are organized into two locals, one the drivers, who form Local 513 of the Teamsters' Union, and the other the Cleaning and Dyeing Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Both unions are gratified with the results, and a new vigorous drive to organize the remaining open shops in the industry is being planned.

Socialists Kept Bethlen's Role in Fake Franc Scandal Before the League Assembly

ALTHOUGH Stephen Bethlen, the Hungarian "nobleman" who has functioned for several years as the Premier of the White Terrorist Government headed by Nicholas Horthy, did not cut much figure in the news dispatches from Geneva during the recent rather futile meeting of the League of Nations, he was very much in the limelight there, due to the manner in which the Socialists of that city drew the public's attention to his presence and his role of protector of the "patriotic" counterfelters.

As soon as it was learned that Count Bethlen, despite the revelations of the last few months involving him in the counterfeiting affair that finally brought the wrath of the French Government down upon the Budapest reactionaries, was really coming to the League meeting, the Geneva Socialists began to protest and to plan a "fitting" reception for him. Following a meeting of the Central Committee of the local Socialist organization, at which it was decided to take "measures necessary for a suitable recognition of this visitor," Le Travail, the Geneva Socialist daily, came out with a front page article headed "An Unwelcome Guest, Count Bethlen, the Screen of the Franco-Forgers." This article summarized the history of Bethlen and his White Terrorist friends, and pointed out that the ordinary rules of hospitality could hardly apply to such a visitor. Day after day Le Travail printed similar pieces. The Socialist organization decided to placard the whole city with flaming posters telling about Bethlen's activities and holding him up to the execration of all liberty-loving Swiss citizens.

Permission to put up these posters was obtained from the cantonal authorities, but when the news reached Bern, Foreign Minister Motta, apparently fearful of international complications, wired an order banning them from the billboards. Not having time to make a test case of the ban, the Geneva Socialists simply put the contents of the posters into pamphlets and distributed thousands of them among the residents and the foreigners attending the League meeting. The climax of the anti-Bethlen demonstration was a big international meeting held March 12.

Leon Nicole, a Socialist member of the National Council, presided and noted with much satisfaction that this great demonstration clearly gave the lie to a recent remark by Dictator Mussolini to the effect that the workers were not internationally minded.

The first speaker, N. Szende, Under Secretary of State in the Karolyi government, referred to the proved guilt of the Hungarian government, and especially of Count Bethlen himself, in the franc forgery, as stated in the manifesto of the five opposition parties in Hungary. He attacked the reactionary governments which had given assistance to these criminals, and made strong accusations against the English government in particular, calling it the protector of reaction in all countries. "If Count Bethlen can be in Geneva today, instead of in prison, he owes it to the strong support he has had from the Conservative Party in England, and therefore from the League of Nations itself," concluded M. Szende.

C. A. Prato, chief editor of the anti-Fascist Italian paper Corriere degli Italiani, published in Paris, spoke on the Fascist government in Italy and strongly condemned the legal farce of the trial of the murderers of Matteotti. "The trial can only really take place when Mussolini is in the dock as the chief accused," said he. Prato's statement that Fascism, after destroying every measure of freedom at home, had become a permanent menace to peace in Europe, met with the hearty approval of the gathering.

Deputy Grumbach of France ridiculed the measures which the Swiss Government had thought it necessary to take for the protection of Count Bethlen, and designated the Hungarian Government as a government of forgers and murderers. Herr Schiff, one of the foreign editors of Vorwärts of Berlin, discussed the fight of the German working class against reaction in its own country, and the common danger which threatens the workers by the existence of Fascist governments. H. Ewer, foreign editor of the Daily Herald of London, drew attention to the international collaboration of reaction, which is just as manifest in Morocco and Syria, and in the "civilized" measures of England in India and Egypt as in the Hungarian franc forgery. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The 1,200 members of workers' organizations in Geneva, assembled in the Palais des Townhall, take note of the statements of Hungarian, Italian, French, German and British comrades, and emphatically protest against governments of reaction and terror, which are at present ruling, especially in Hungary, Italy and the Balkan states. They expect from the League of Nations, which is now assembled in Geneva, definite measures to be taken against the state crimes of Fascism in the above mentioned countries, without which the League of Nations cannot secure the trust of the workers of the world."

I. L. P. and Henderson Clash on Unity

WHEN the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International meets in Zurich on April 11 it will have before it the following resolution submitted by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain:

"That, in view of the urgent need of working class solidarity against Capitalist and Imperialist Reaction and the menace of Fascism in Europe, the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International should suggest a joint conference to the Executives of the Third International with the object of exploring the possibilities of the formation of an all-inclusive International."

The National Administrative Council of the I. L. P. asked the British Section of the S. L. I. consisting of Arthur Henderson and C. G. Cramp, representing the Labor Party, and Fenner Brockway, representing the I. L. P., to support this resolution, but the Labor Party men could not see the situation that way, so it will go to the S. L. I. Executive merely as a suggestion by the I. L. P. As outlined by Fenner Brockway, its secretary, the I. L. P. bases its hope for a union of the Socialist and Communist Internationals on the fact that "the Communist Party of Russia has repeatedly shown its readiness to modify its policy in accordance with changed circumstances, e. g., N. E. P. The thesis of the Third International was adopted in the revolutionary psychology of the after-war period. The realists of the Communist Party should face the changed circumstances and recognize that armed revolution is not the inevitable method. The I. L. P. thinks that various tendencies can be seen which would seem to show that the Communist International might be converted to the view that in different countries living under different conditions the way to Socialism can be different. It refers especially to the fact that 'Zinoviev and the extremist leaders of the Third International have recently lost influence in Russia.'"

In presenting the views of the Labor Party Executive, Arthur Henderson recalls the experiences of the Berlin Conference in April, 1922, at which representatives of the Communist International declared with the utmost

distinctness that "the organic union of the present international organizations of the proletariat, differing as to orientation in principle, is entirely utopian and injurious. Henderson concludes his article as follows: "It may be suggested, however, that the discussions envisaged by the I. L. P. would clear the air for some Socialists in Britain. But on the Continent, Socialists do not need enlightenment on the questions proposed to be raised by the gift of a new maneuvering ground for the Communist tacticians and at the tremendous cost of confusion and misrepresentation from which the Socialist parties, and especially the British Labor Party, would suffer. In short, the I. L. P. proposal is both utopian and injurious. The minimum of agreement does not exist for a conference with the Communist International."

A week before Henderson wrote his article it came to light in Moscow how justified is his argument that a union with the Communist International at present is utopian. At the meeting of the enlarged Executive of the Communist International the British member, Brown, declared:

"The proposal of the Independent Labor Party with regard to the fusion of the Second and Third Internationals is, of course, an impossibility, but we must make much use of the occasion." And Zinoviev himself made the I. L. P. proposal the subject of some remarks in his extensive report on "Activities of the E. C. C. I." at the meeting of Feb. 20. Zinoviev declared:

"The British I. L. P. is proposing the union of the Second and Third Internationals. Its letter will be answered in detail. We cannot, of course, renounce our independence, the existence of the Comintern and of the Communist parties. The creation of the Comintern and of the Communist parties is the greatest of historical facts. And, therefore, our answer is: No! a thousand times No! We want unity among the working-class, but unity based on Communism, on Leninism."

The Communist International Press Correspondence reports that after these words of Zinoviev there was a "prolonged tumultuous applause."

The Crisis of Modern Democracy

By Morris Hillquit

(In the Prager Presse)

The question is whether there is a tendency to get away from democracy or rather a temporary condition which reflects the unsettled situation in Europe. After all, the inefficiencies of parliaments in the different countries in Europe are, technically the effect of the separation of the body of politics into numerous parties, none of which has a clear majority. Parliaments reflect economic and political parties reflect economic phases. They correspond on the whole with three economic main divisions: the capitalists, the workers, and the middle class and professionals. Hence the ordinary political grouping is that of conservative, labor and liberal who correspond to these classes.

Under those conditions, political control is largely in one powerful party or, at most, in co-operation of two. Under said conditions, parliamentary government is effective, and such as we call democracy in politics, which, after all, means a parliamentary regime which is workable. The war and the peace treaties and the reparation of Europe, having enhanced new interests, such as the problems of national and racial minorities, the acute problems of war and peace, of international relations, etc., have given rise to the formation of new parties.

For the time being the center of gravity in political life has been transferred from the economic problems to the political. The chaos in politics is no more than a reflection of the general chaos left by the war. That, I believe, is why we find less of political division and parliamentary importance in countries less affected by the war. The United States is an outstanding example.

In the measure as the political conditions and international problems settle down in Europe, economic interests will again predominate. It will undoubtedly mean the return of big class parties in the parliaments, the resumption of normal parliamentary activities in the sense of class struggles. This in itself will, I believe, largely counteract the tendency toward dictatorship. That, and even more, the Socialist and Labor parties which are on the whole steadily gaining strength, at least as far as the western world is concerned. They are more deeply rooted in the principles of democracy than ever.

Swiss Unionists Oppose Russian Commission

COLD water was thrown upon the plan to organize an unofficial delegation of Swiss trade unionists to make an inspection trip through Russia by the General Council of the Swiss Federation of Labor at a meeting in Olten, March 4. The Council declared that participation in this delegation was incompatible with the constitutional principle of the subordination of the minority to the decisions of the majority. (The General Council had decided at a former meeting not to embark on such a tour—for the time being, at any rate.) The Council further declared that it would not be influenced in any way whatever by the activities of this committee, which was inspired by a political party; and that it could certainly not take part in a journey to Russia which was organized in such a way. Such a journey for which no proper preparations had been made and which had no definite program, could not, the Council maintained, be of service to the working class in its documentation of political, economic and cultural conditions. In view of this, the Council recommended the organized working class not to support the efforts of the so-called preparatory committee, either by contributions through the union funds or in man to man collections. Finally, the Council stated, the sending of such delegation could only be considered by agreement with the affiliated union and with the cooperation of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Swiss General Council also turned down a plea for aid from the Workers' International Relief (The Communist Red Cross) on the ground that the International Federation of Trade Unions was the only competent body for the organization of international relief actions.

A resolution was passed protesting against the brutal suppression of the trade unions in Italy and appealing to the workers and "all those who love freedom" "to break off all relations with Italy, and particularly not to make any journeys into that country until the present reign of terror has

Labor Doings Abroad

Labor Gains Votes, Holds Scotch Seat

Disinclination of the coal miners to accept the Mine Commission's report, especially its proposed reductions in wages, is the reason for the large increase of the Labor majority in the Bothwell division of Lanarkshire, Scotland, in the by-election just held.

Joseph Sullivan, the successful candidate, is a miner's agent and he obtained a plurality of 6,090. The former Labor member, the late John Robertson, had a majority in the general election of 3,277.

British Clerks Push Amalgamation

Negotiations have been resumed for the amalgamation of several important unions in the British clerical and distributive trades, including the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, and the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries. Their amalgamation will bring into existence a new organization with 140,000 members. It will have the title of the National Union of Distributive, Clerical and Allied Workers.

In the earlier negotiations the National Union of Clerks, the Journeymen Butchers' organization, and the Union of Cooperative Officials were involved, but they have withdrawn.

German Unions Form Strong Alliance

At a recent conference held in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, the Central District and local executive bodies of the Amalgamated Union of Railwaymen, the German Transport Union, the State and Municipal Workers' Union, and the National Union of Municipal Employees, decided to form an offensive and defensive alliance. Closer connection between these four unions has become essential in consequence of the concentration in the German employers' unions. This development is based upon decisions passed by all four unions at their respective congresses. The duties and obligations which this Alliance for purposes of joint action will impose upon the unions concerned are to be laid down in an agreement worked out by a small commission of representatives of the four unions and approved by the officials of the four organizations.

French Unions Deserting Communist Federation

While the French Communists are talking a great deal about unity in the trade union movement in that country without accomplishing much toward putting over their ideas, occasional items in the regular union papers of France indicate that unity is really being effected through the process of local units of the Unitarian General Confederation of Labor quitting that body and joining the General Confederation of Labor, the old trade union national organization.

The other day, for instance, the Miners' Union at Amiens, which had left the General Federation of Labor to join the Communist body, had become disillusioned and withdrawn from that organization to exist as an independent group for a while, announced its re-affiliation with the General Confederation. The Dental Mechanics' Union of Paris recently left the Communist body and rejoined the Federation of Workers in the Health Services, a regular union. Similar reports are quite common in the union press.

European Airplane Pilots Being Organized

Prospects for a great increase in the use of airplanes for national and international traffic in Europe this season have spurred the organizers of the personnel of that service to renewed efforts to organize all the pilots, mechanics and other employees preliminary to demanding material improvements in their working conditions and pay.

So far a collective agreement is lacking and wages are in most cases fixed by individual contract, by means of which the different grades of the staff are set off one against the other. To put an end to this situation the German Traffic Union has started an energetic campaign of propaganda among the flying employees, with a view to forming a united front of all grades.

Millinery Workers Re-elect Officers Overwhelmingly

The Millinery Workers Union local 24, New York City, re-elected all of its officers by overwhelming majorities against the Communist slate. The election, which lasted nearly a week and in which over 2,300 members participated, the largest ever in the history of the union, was preceded by a vigorous campaign of the vilest mud slinging and abuse by the so-called revolutionaries. But all the vicious attacks of the Communists were to no avail. The members knew that the administration, led by Nathan Spector, manager, and Alex Rose, secretary, has more than doubled the membership of the union in recent years, has improved and gained conditions for the workers, and in general made the union a powerful factor in the millinery industry. The Communists were beaten by a vote of four to one all along the line.

Illinois Mine to Close, 1,100 Out of Work

WEST FRANKFORT, Ill.—The New Orient Coal Mine here, which holds the world's production record of 12,825 tons in one day, will suspend operations indefinitely on Monday because of slack demand, officials announced. Eleven hundred miners will be thrown out of employment. About 300 men will be retained to continue development work.

N. Y. Shirt Makers Completely Victorious

The end of the third week of the strike of the Shirt Workers of Greater New York finds practically all the members of the union back at their jobs. Seventy manufacturers were declared on strike on Monday, March 15, in order to compel them to renew the agreement with the Union with improved modifications for the term of another year. Today the situation is practically over. The rejection of less than one-half dozen manufacturers, all the employers against whom the strike was called have made a settlement. The Union emerged from this struggle with renewed vigor and determination. The struggle will be carried on against the Marvel Shirt Co., Monroe Shirt Co., Heltzer Manufacturing Co., and Samco Shirt Co., who have so far failed to renew the agreement with the Union. The Shirt Makers organization is confident of bringing these strikes to a successful conclusion.

Shirt Makers Complete Elections

The election of delegates to the Montreal convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has been completed. We announced last week the names of the delegates elected by the Joint Board, the Cutlers Local and the Pressers Local. The operators Local 248, held its election in the different sections of the city the week beginning March 23rd and ending March 27th. The delegates elected from Local 248 are: Harry Yudell, David Monas, Isidore Stern, Beckie Friedman, Mary Lantoneo.

West Virginia Miners Get Wage Cut

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Notice of a proposed 20 percent wage reduction, effective April 1, has been received by 800 miners at four mines operated in this region by the Falsely interests of Cleveland. Officials of the United Mine Workers announced that they had been notified of the proposed reduction at one mine and later learned that similar notices were posted at three other mines, all operated by the Connellsville By-Product Company. Union leaders said the miners would refuse to accept any cut.

A victory in the West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio has resulted in strikes by about 3,200 miners in an effort to enforce continuance of semi-monthly payments.

Francis Again Held on Contempt Charge

For printing without comment a report of the American Civil Liberties Union upon the hearing of his own appeal in the Court of Appeals at Philadelphia, Rothschild Francis, Virginia Island editor and legislator, has been ordered to appear before the district court at St. Thomas on a charge of contempt of court.

Francis was defended before the Philadelphia court on appeal from two sentences, one for criminal libel and the other for contempt of court. He was sentenced by George Washington Williams, district judge of the Islands, whose appointment Francis had opposed, for printing an article criticizing a native policeman. The federal court at Philadelphia reversed the conviction on the libel charge, scoring Judge Williams for trying to use libel laws to regulate the press. Francis was sentenced to 30 days for contempt of court, a case which grew out of an editorial by Francis in his "Emancipator," charging that he had been "railroaded" in the libel case.

Upon receiving summons to appear again in Judge Williams' court on a contempt charge, Francis immediately called the American Civil Liberties Union for aid. He was advised to plead not guilty and take appeal. Steps are being taken by Union attorneys to appeal the original contempt of court sentence to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Bakery Union Members Cited for Contempt

New York.—Five striking bakers of local 305, Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union are charged with criminal contempt under an injunction obtained by Morris Schwartz, whose bakery has been picketed by the workers. The workers are held on \$500 bail each. Criminal contempt has never before been charged in New York, so that this becomes a test case.

been suppressed." It was decided that the Swiss should get in touch with the I. F. T. U. "with a view to examining the possibilities of organizing an international action against the Fascist tyranny."

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8 P. M.

Mr. Holmes

"A Yankee in the Southland"

11 A. M.

John Haynes Holmes

"A Rationalist on the Resurrection"

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

ers. The owners will continue to try to distract attention from the main issue by talk of Communists and outside agitators. The one job of the workers is to organize. What is the United Textile Workers' Union doing to bring the day when the cloth we wear shall not be woven with the blood and tears of exploited workers?

Once more the old parties, both in New York State and in the Nation, are following the suggestion that we Socialists made long ago. They are now talking at Albany and at Washington about referendums on the definition and enforcement of the Volstead Act. As usual the old parties are a bit late in coming to these conclusions. Something might be accomplished by these referendums even now, provided all candidates would pledge themselves to abide by the result of the popular vote. My own interest in a referendum on the liquor question does not arise from any great belief on my part in the initiative and referendum in general about which we used to get so excited some years ago. The value of referendum on the prohibition is twofold. First, if properly managed, it may take the question out of party politics where it does not belong and where its presence merely distracts attention from fundamental issues. Second, if we are ever going to enforce prohibition or any modification of the present policy it must be on the basis of the active approval of at least a majority not only in the nation but in particular states. The issue is not hard to understand and it comes home personally to every man and woman. It is therefore a peculiarly appropriate subject for a referendum vote.

The expected seems to be happening in China. The pro Japanese reactionary, General Chang, is at the gates of Peking. He is there because the United States intervened in China's war and with the other powers compelled the Nationalist forces to silence the forts and remove the mines which kept Chang's forces at bay at the mouth of the Pei River. To justify our action we appealed to an "unequal treaty" extorted years ago from China by force. The White House should be deluged with protests.

Those of you who care for labor's cause want to watch the despatches from London above all other things just now. Of course events elsewhere are interesting. The developments of Mussolini's brutal dictatorship are always worth watching. The court which tried the murderers of Matteotti all but found that martyr guilty of his own death. But these and other events in Italy merely show the brutality of Fascist rule. No change now seems imminent. The real drama may be found in the development of the British coal situation. If the miners strike on May 1 they will not strike alone. A long continued strike will bring Britain nearer a revolution than some of us would have imagined possible a while ago. Circumstances in Britain are not favorable to a successful or constructive revolution growing out of a strike. One serious difficulty is the dependence of England upon foreign. The United States and the British dominions could starve out a revolution in England far easier than in Russia. British labor will require a peculiar order of courage and intelligence in these next few weeks. Our hearts are with the workers.

COOLIDGE, TAFT SHARE STEEL SWAG

(Continued from page 1)

It has rolled up profits totaling \$2,682,836,121, of which \$2,171,000,000 was available for dividends. It has paid cash dividends totaling \$1,279,953,785. Common dividends have amounted to \$561,544,001, which is sheer velvet, as practically all the common stock at the beginning was water. The corporation has put value behind this worthless stock by reinvesting over a billion dollars out of excess profits in the industry.

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Penn. Soft Coal Miners Battle Contract-Breaking Operators

By Art Shields

Clearfield, Pa.—The miners' union is having a fight for life in the fourteen soft coal producing counties of central Pennsylvania, where the bituminous fields begin. Here in District No. 2, United Mine Workers, several of the larger operators, employing a good minority of the coal diggers in this part of the State, have shamelessly broken their signed contracts with the union they dealt with many years, and are attempting to run their mines on the low 1917 wage scale, without checkweighmen and other union safeguards.

The contracts calling for current wages and continued union recognition for another three-year period went into effect April 1, 1924, but it now appears that these operators never had any intention of keeping them beyond the time they needed to prepare for a fight with the union. While the ink was still drying on the contracts plans to break them were under way.

B. M. Clark, chief operator in the district, gave the game away April 2, the day after the treaty began to operate. Clark, now fighting the union, with injunctions, thugs and evictions, was doubly committed to the pact. He had signed up as president of the Association of Bituminous Coal Operators of Central Pennsylvania and as president of the largest operating concern in the northern part of that district, the

Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal & Iron Company, a subsidiary of the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh Railroad Company, which taps some of the richest Pennsylvania deposits. April 2 he issued a public statement seeking to undermine public confidence in the agreement. April 19 he followed with an urgent demand that the union modify the rates to suit what he called economic conditions.

President John Brophy of the district union, seeing the drift of policy, replied with spirit that the agreement must be kept, that the operators had entered into it with eyes open. Brophy met the wage reduction argument by showing that a cut in the union fields would lead cuts by non-union competitors to the south, and, lastly, he emphasized that the ills of this overdeveloped industry were due to more fundamental causes than could be solved by reducing the workers' standards.

As the year lengthened, Clark and his association's secretary, Charles O'Neill, a former district union vice-president, continued their barrage of propaganda for modification of the contract through the columns of the little pro-employer newspapers in Clearfield, Du Bois, Philipsburg, Pottsville, Altoona and other central Pennsylvania cities. Their lead was followed by others. The climax came when the Pittsburgh & Rochester shut down all its operations in Jefferson and Indiana

counties, throwing several thousand miners out of work, and announcing they would not reopen at the union scale.

When a union operator decides to break away he does it gradually. He begins with a lockout. Then, after the miners have starved for several months, he gets a few signatures to a back-to-work petition from straw bosses and company men, and attempts to start operations, saying that he is responding to a demand from the workers. When a strike follows, he charges that intimidation is preventing his loyal workers from pursuing their own pleasure, and he gets out an injunction from a pliant judge.

That is what Clark did in early 1925. But first he varied the program a little by "leasing" the mines to a dummy concern, the Jefferson & Indiana Coal Company. This company, it was said, had not signed the Jacksonville agreement and was not bound by its terms. The hitch in this assertion was that the two companies were really the same, Clark being the vice-president of the leasing concern and furnishing it with office room.

Similar dummy leasing was practiced by the Buffalo & Susquehanna Coal Company as Sagamore, but the union is carrying the fight to the parent companies regardless, and has stripped from these contract-breakers their pretense of morality.

Socialist Party Organization in New York

By Julius Gerber

THE members of the party in the city of New York will soon be called upon to vote on the plan adopted by the last city convention to combine the management of the organization and have one Central Office with a Central Committee and a City Executive Committee.

The idea of combining the management and administration of the party organization in the greater city, is not new. In the days of the S. L. P. up to time of the split in 1899 we had one organization for the city of New York, and since then the question of amalgamation, merger and combination came up from time to time.

Many comrades, while realizing the benefits of one office and combined administration, could not help but fear the results, as every time we had such an organization it fell in bad hands. In the S. L. P. days the organization was controlled by De Leon and DeLeonism and when for a short time following the memorable campaign of 1917 we had a city committee, it again fell in the hands of the left wingers, despite the fact that the majority of the party in greater New York was not left wingish and were opposed to the left wing.

Then again the best period of Socialist activity and the biggest gains in our party were at a time when each county was autonomous, and there was a friendly rivalry between the counties, and there is no doubt that the best work will be done by the membership when the organization is close to them, they will work best for their own branch and will do little if anything for another branch even if that branch is across the street from where they live, and the same thing applies to the county or city organization. Then mistakes were made by the proponents of one organization for the city, in that they wanted to centralize all activities leaving little or nothing to the branches, and the desire to eliminate all county or borough lines, or they went to the other extreme and permitted the locals in the counties to function as county organizations with all rights and privileges of a local and adding a superstructure of a city committee, with the result that the county organizations interfered with the city organization and the city organization interfered with the county organization.

The plan adopted now, takes the happy middle of the road, while it creates a city organization, it leaves the possibility of a county organization and provides that one can not and shall not interfere with the other, they shall be rather co-extensive, one helping the other, instead of interfering with each other.

The plan provides that the charters now held by the various locals shall continue, but the locals agree to co-operate under one organization and that all the privileges now enjoyed by the locals be transferred to the city organization.

For the proper management of the affairs, a Central Committee composed of delegates of all branches of the party in the city of New York with adequate representation of every

branch is provided, the Central Committee elects a City Executive Committee on which every county is assured representation, and the Executive Committee is responsible to and must report to the Central Committee, while the Executive Committee has the duty of planning the work and supervising the central office, from where all the routine work of the party shall be done.

Provision is made for the organization of County Committees, but these committees shall confine their activities to propaganda and organization work in their respective counties, in co-operation with and under the supervision of the city organization. The plan further provides that headquarters or offices may be maintained in the respective counties, so that the comrades in the various counties of New York will have a central point to go to when they have county or other business to transact.

The plan also provides that as soon as the finances of the city organization permit, they shall employ organizers who shall be assigned to a county who are to assist the county committees in their work.

It further provides that in the election of delegates to state conventions or national convention, or members of the state committee, the members in each county shall nominate and elect the delegates or members to which the county is entitled.

In other words, while the plan gives the comrades in each county autonomy in the conduct of the propaganda and organization work, and in the selection of representatives, the locals combine and centralize all those things that can best be done from one central point.

Perhaps this is not the best plan and there is room for improvement. Perhaps we shall find that after working together for some time that after all it is not compatible and that the locals in the city cannot work together, then the plan provides for annual conventions, so that the delegates to the

Four Virtuoso from Venezuela

By Martin Feinstein

(English Secretary of the Venezuelan Labor Union)

ON APRIL 7, and for a week thereafter, the Pan-American Congress of Journalists will hold forth in Washington. In that capital, where hot air is always on tap, bombast will be the order of the day. And among the performers there will be four virtuoso from Venezuela. Let me introduce the gentlemen: A. Fernandez Garcia, slippery eel of "El Nuevo Diario"; Luis Teofilo Nunez, confidence man of "El Universal"; Carlos R. Rohl, playmate prestidigitator of "El Sol"; and Juan Carmona, callisthenic cucumber of "El Impulso." Hats off to their Honorableness. It's a long way from Venezuela to these shores, an expensive trip, and such gentlemen as these must needs travel in style. Well, don't worry over it; they happen to know the ropes.

Word has gone round, and, after they have awaited their bit at Washington, they will head immediately, "muy pronto," as the Oshkoshese idiom has it, to a rendezvous in a street called Wall, for an affectionate exchange of felicitations with his pious manager, Bulls? Bears? Screaming American eagles? These gentlemen have no fear; they are journalists, professional ones; they know their price. And so does Wall Street. And so does that old moribund crab of the hills, Juan Vicente Gomez, wearing clothes, and so passing for human.

"There is an end for all things monstrous-eyed, And tongues that babble for a bloody feast, Over the roads of terror there will ride A cavalcade with banners from the east."

I try to be optimistic, and once in a while I succeed. But the picture is a black one. Venezuela, with a self-perpetuating President, Mr. Gomez himself; with a sadist oligarchy, with a malleable priesthood, with a swarm of trucking and venal glorifiers of the Old Man, all of whom, but for the grace of Venezuela oil and Yankee gold, might be hitting the line, proletariat-wise, in a Boverly beany or in a Salvation Army soup kitchen.

Venezuela, I say, is hard hit. But not if you believe the four virtuoso from Venezuela. No, they have eyebrows trained to pucker politely at such an outrageous barbarism as the truth.

convention, independent even of the Central Committee can take up the problems that confront the organization, improve the shortcomings, iron out differences, learning by the experience made during the year. But should we find that we cannot go along together, then the convention may decide to separate, and that each local go its own way. In short, the plan is, what may be called a "Trial Marriage," the contracting parties agree that for a period of one year they will try and live together, on a fifty-fifty basis (quite modern), and that after the year we will take stock and see whether we still love each other enough to go on, and if we find that we can't we will each go our way without a fight, without animosity, or we may find that while we do not care to live together we will adopt the ultra-modern method of maintaining separate quarters, we may meet often to talk over such matters as concern all of us.

In my opinion, this plan is ideal for the present, and should be adopted. I am convinced that while we will work together for the next year we will learn to know each other better and to understand each other, so that when the year is over we will not want to part, and will continue, and if we continue for a few years I am sure we shall never separate, because by that time our family will have grown to such an extent, and they, the newcomers, not knowing of our old wranglings and jealousies, will have got so accustomed to work together that there will be no separation.

Much can be said what and how the new organization shall do, but that can be left for a latter date. At the present let's adopt the plan and let's try it. Things are shaping themselves in favor of our movement and our party. The opportunities are here. Let's avail ourselves of them. Let us go to work and again bring New York to take its place in the Socialist movement that it held before. It can be done, if you, the members of the party in New York, will do it. So let's go.

Four Virtuoso from Venezuela

By Martin Feinstein

(English Secretary of the Venezuelan Labor Union)

ON APRIL 7, and for a week thereafter, the Pan-American Congress of Journalists will hold forth in Washington. In that capital, where hot air is always on tap, bombast will be the order of the day. And among the performers there will be four virtuoso from Venezuela. Let me introduce the gentlemen: A. Fernandez Garcia, slippery eel of "El Nuevo Diario"; Luis Teofilo Nunez, confidence man of "El Universal"; Carlos R. Rohl, playmate prestidigitator of "El Sol"; and Juan Carmona, callisthenic cucumber of "El Impulso." Hats off to their Honorableness. It's a long way from Venezuela to these shores, an expensive trip, and such gentlemen as these must needs travel in style. Well, don't worry over it; they happen to know the ropes.

Word has gone round, and, after they have awaited their bit at Washington, they will head immediately, "muy pronto," as the Oshkoshese idiom has it, to a rendezvous in a street called Wall, for an affectionate exchange of felicitations with his pious manager, Bulls? Bears? Screaming American eagles? These gentlemen have no fear; they are journalists, professional ones; they know their price. And so does Wall Street. And so does that old moribund crab of the hills, Juan Vicente Gomez, wearing clothes, and so passing for human.

"There is an end for all things monstrous-eyed, And tongues that babble for a bloody feast, Over the roads of terror there will ride A cavalcade with banners from the east."

I try to be optimistic, and once in a while I succeed. But the picture is a black one. Venezuela, with a self-perpetuating President, Mr. Gomez himself; with a sadist oligarchy, with a malleable priesthood, with a swarm of trucking and venal glorifiers of the Old Man, all of whom, but for the grace of Venezuela oil and Yankee gold, might be hitting the line, proletariat-wise, in a Boverly beany or in a Salvation Army soup kitchen.

Venezuela, I say, is hard hit. But not if you believe the four virtuoso from Venezuela. No, they have eyebrows trained to pucker politely at such an outrageous barbarism as the truth.

Labor's Dividends

Birmingham.—The death list resulting from an unexplained explosion of Furnace No. 2 of the Woodward Coal and Iron Company's plant here stands at twenty-two.

Two men died of injuries they received when a scaffold at 1,303 Grand avenue, Maspeth, fell.

Two assistant engineers were killed by an explosion of ammonia fumes on the Grace liner Santa Louisa, according to messages received at the line's office here.

James Girebello, a street cleaner, was killed when a department truck was struck by a trolley car at Keap street and Lee avenue, Brooklyn.

Cape May, N. J.—Jesse Cramer Jr., of Saville, a workman on the new Avalon road bridge, was killed when his belt caught in a pile driver and he was drawn under the machinery.

The body of Mack M. Pike, a brakeman for the Long Island Railroad, was found in the Hoban freight yards at Hollis, Queens. The police believe he fell under the wheels of flat cars which were being moved in the yards.

LIBERTY PROVES INTRUDER IN CAPITAL

(Continued from page 1)

Baldwin, director of that organization. He read a sentence from the Lusk report, quoting Baldwin as saying that all members of the A. C. L. U. board believed that anyone had the right to preach the overthrow of government by force. Kane suggested that Baldwin is a pacifist, and does not approve of violence. Johnson raised his voice higher in accusatory questions. Miss Edith Spruance of the Delaware League of Woman Voters suggested that Johnson was reading from a red-and-black reprint of Lusk committee findings, published by the American Security League. Johnson denied knowledge of where the document came from. Miss Spruance was firmly ordered by Free to give her name and affiliations. She was asked whether the League of Woman Voters of Delaware stands for overthrow of government by force and violence. She replied that it stands for the rights of citizens, but that its activity in this instance was due to the growth of Prussianism and Fascism in public administration.

Johnson proceeded to recite from the black-and-red document, the alleged radical activities of other members of the A. C. L. U. board, but finally agreed to let Dr. Darby finish his statement. Reps. Sabath of Chicago and Dickstein of New York alone in the committee defended the right of aliens to considerate treatment, and deprecated the rough treatment of the witnesses. Spokesmen of the American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, the Natl. Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Natl. Council of Jewish Women waited to be heard. The Social Service Commission of the Episcopal diocese of New York sent a letter of protest against the deportation and registration bills. Geo. W. Wickensham, former attorney general, as one of this commission, wrote a personal protest against the proposed legislation as being contrary to the spirit of American institutions.

FURRIERS' STRIKE IN SEVENTH WEEK

(Continued from page 1)

evidenced by heavy fines and in some instances jail sentences.

In order to assert its legal right to picket peacefully the Union has held a number of mass picket demonstrations in which six to eight thousand workers have picketed the fur shops in a quiet but thoroughly impressive line which extended for dozens of city blocks. At one of these demonstrations the police attacked the workers in a most brutal manner and many arrests were made. But two similar demonstrations which have followed have been perfectly orderly.

A hearty endorsement of the manner in which the strike has been carried on came from the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City this week.

International President Schachtman is traveling around the various fur centers in the East to make it impossible for the New York manufacturers to have their work done elsewhere during the strike. In a statement issued by him he said, "If the fur bosses think they can beat the New York furriers' demands by having their work done out of town they are greatly mistaken. So far I am glad to say that we have successfully warded off all such attempts."

Vice-President Winnick is taking the place of Schachtman as acting president in New York while the latter is on the road.

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Water Power--For the People or For the Profiteers?

By Louis Waldman

WHAT shall the policy of New York State be towards its water power resources? Should franchises or, as they are now euphemistically called, licenses, be granted to private corporations or individuals to exploit these natural resources for the purpose of developing and distributing hydraulic power, as the Republicans want?

Or, should the state develop the water resources at its own expense—build reservoirs, dams, generating plants and all structure necessary to produce hydraulic power—then lease it all to, or contract with private corporations or individuals for the purpose of distribution, as the Governor and Senator Straus, speaking for the Democrats, want?

Or should the state develop its water resources, generate hydraulic power, and through public agencies build and maintain a comprehensive system of transmission lines and distributing stations and sell electrical energy for light, heat and power to municipalities and private consumers, at cost, as Socialists and other believers in public ownership want?

What is Involved

It seems to me the answer to these questions is simple enough if you only know what it is all about.

The first thing I ought to make clear is what this controversy involves. It concerns water falls, which, when utilized, will produce approximately 2,000,000 horse-power of electricity a year. These waterfalls are now the property of the Federal government in boundary streams. The main waterfalls are St. Lawrence River, with an estimated capacity for the production of 800,000 H. P. electricity a year, and the Niagara with an estimated capacity for the production of 500,000 H. P. of electricity a year; the remainder are the inland waters.

It is estimated that one H. P. of energy is equivalent to the power of 10 average men. Thus the electrical energy involved in this controversy is equivalent to the power of 20,000,000 average men.

In dollars it represents electrical energy worth about \$100,000,000 a year. Such a stake is worth fighting for!

What is more, by a wise policy, the electrification of this state would lighten the burden of the farmer, encourage agriculture, stimulate industry and reduce the drudgery of household in the home of the plain people, to a minimum.

Resources Hitherto Wasted
Due to a do-nothing policy, this state has permitted these great natural resources to be wasted. For over 20 years water-power has been a football of politics.

And, if I may be bold and candid, I believe the present fight in Albany over water-power is more politics than anything else, each side trying hard to crystallize an issue for the next state election.

Concretely, what is the present situation?

The point of view of the Republicans is represented by the existing law on the subject, which was enacted in 1921 under the leadership of Governor Miller. The modifications proposed by the Hughes Commission, even if adopted by the Legislature, will still leave the law substantially the same.

Briefly, the law is this: A N. Y. Water Power Commission has been created, which includes among its members, such mere figure-heads, for I know, they have no time for the business of the commission—they must run their respective machines—the Speaker of the Assembly and the Temporary President of the Senate.

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The commission has power to make grants, on behalf of the state, to private corporations, or individuals, to divert and use for power or other purposes any waters of the state in which the state has a proprietary right or interest. It is authorized to investigate applications, to grant preliminary permits for the purpose of insuring priority, and eventually, to grant franchises, which they call licenses. The "licenses" are limited to fifty years.

No Rental Standards Fixed

The commission is empowered to fix an annual charge or rental for the period of the "licenses." No standard, however, is prescribed by which the rental can be fixed.

Under the law the commission must provide in the "licenses" that the State has a right to regulate and control the use and distribution of the power generated; the right to fix reasonable rates to be charged to consumers for hydraulic energy by the "licensees"; and the right to regulate the service and capitalization of the "licensees." The commission cannot, itself, regulate rates! That power is delegated to the Public Service Commission.

The commission was also to make surveys and investigations and collect data concerning the developed and undeveloped water power resources of the State and to report the same to the Legislature from year to year. It is authorized to represent this State in any of the conference or negotiations with the Federal authorities concerning the boundary streams, such as Niagara Falls and the St. Lawrence River.

These last two provisions in connection with the Senators' legislation on the question should be borne in mind. I understand that since the commission was created no "licensees" were granted except during the year 1925. That year licenses had been granted for various projects which will net the State a rental of approximately \$460,000 a year. Applications

are now pending, undetermined, for grant in the lower Niagara and for the right to develop the St. Lawrence River, involving over one million horse-power. The hearings on these applications have been held too recently to require review or comment.

What Hughes Proposes

The only important changes the Hughes report recommends is that no grants of water power rights shall be made by the commission without the approval of the Governor; that no license be granted unless signed by the Governor.

That is the position of the Republican party, the majority in the Legislature. They are frankly for private ownership, private operation and private management of this public utility, and are ready, on terms, to hand over to the private utility corporations the water resources of the State. Their attitude is clear. It is easy to understand.

What is the Governor's and Senator Straus' position?

First of all, they desire to repeal the law enacted in 1921. That they seek to accomplish through the Straus bill bearing introductory number 435. That bill is short and clear.

With that bill I agree entirely. But that is purely destructive.

What of the Governor's affirmative and constructive program? It is contained in Senator Straus' bill bearing introductory number 434. This bill is extremely disappointing. I regret to say that the Governor has failed to propose any kind of program with regard to the development of water power by the State upon which the Legislature and the people could pass. Concretely, the bill itself is nothing more than a plous wish, a general statement that the power authority which is sought to be created shall develop the water resources in the interests of all the people of the State.

Commission is Limited

There is nothing in this proposed legislation that would give the power

authority the means by which to develop the water resources. It is not given the power to acquire property by condemnation or purchase; it does not propose any plan for State development; it does not lay the basis upon which the power authority would sell the hydro-electric energy thus developed; it does not enable the authority to build anything. In short, the proposed legislation is another attempt to postpone the whole question and defer decision for some future Legislature. The Governor himself, in his statement, reported in the press of March 15, says that:

"The bill introduced by Senator Straus provides, first of all, for nothing more than a survey, with instructions to the power authority to report a plan to the Governor and the Legislature."

But it is not investigation that the State needs in connection with water power. We have had that for over twenty years. We have had it pretty nearly every year during the past ten years. There is ample information in the reports of the legislative committees and commissions on every phase of the water power question in this State.

I regret that the Governor straddled this issue. I regret that his program is purely negative and destructive. Together with a good many other New Yorkers, I have great admiration for the fighting qualities and the humanness of Governor Smith, but I should have liked to see him back of a real movement for public ownership, control and management of the water powers of this state.

If the Bill Were Adopted

But assuming that this power authority ultimately reports a plan to the Legislature for state development and private distribution; and, assuming, further, that the impossible happens and some future legislature actually adopts this Democratic program—what then? What does that program amount to? Simply this: The state

would lay out vast amounts of capital on the development of rich natural resources and then lease it to some private public utility corporation to be exploited by that corporation in its own interest. That would be very much in keeping with the opinion of one of the high officials of the General Electric Company, Mr. Owen D. Young, who is a staunch believer in private ownership and distribution. In his letter to the Governor, Mr. Young said:

"The cost of energy developed from falling water is determined, very largely, by the cost of capital employed in the development. A public corporation whose securities would be exempt from taxation under the federal law and the state law should produce, if properly set up, the required money substantially cheaper than a private corporation could obtain it."

The plan proposed by the Governor and the Senator would be very much analogous to the one followed in the City of New York in its subway systems. The city built the subways under city streets at an enormous expense of over three hundred million dollars, then handed them over to the private traction companies for a long period of years to be operated for the profits of those corporations. The sorry mess these traction corporations made of the subway systems in New York is known to you all.

What difference is there in principle or in practical operation between the present Republican plan and the Democratic proposed plan? It seems to me the practical advantages as between the two, are in favor of the existing law.

Under the existing plan, the state would lease to private companies its raw natural resources only. If they make a bad bargain, so can a bad bargain be made in the lease or contract after development.

Change Throws in Credit
Under the proposed Democratic plan

the state would lease the natural resources plus a vast amount of state credit—the cost of development.

As far as regulating prices to the ultimate consumers is concerned, there would be a little difference between the Democratic and the Republican plans as the general market would determine the price private public utility corporations would be allowed to charge for electricity.

Distributing companies in making leases or contracts for the distribution of hydraulic energy developed by the state will insist upon substantial terms. They will want their leases to be for at least twenty-five or fifty years. They will have to undergo the expense of building transmission lines and distributing stations. To all intents and purposes, they will stand in the same relation to water power developed by the state as they would by merely leasing the raw natural resources.

There is no magic in the state development of water resources. Unless there are advantages to be obtained for the public by public development, it shall not be undertaken at all. The great benefits that would be derived from public ownership of the water resources would lie in the distribution, and as such, and perhaps, more than in the development. It is there that a public body could determine what classes of the communities should be served first and the cost, where the power should be directed, what localities are to be particularly helped. To leave all that to regulation is to do what we have been taught, again and again, to be a complete failure. Regulation has broken down, as every frank and candid student of the question of public utilities knows it.

Favors Public Distribution

I believe in public distribution of hydraulic power as well as public development. Public agencies, alone, would find it both possible and feasible to plan a comprehensive system of

transmission and distribution to cover the whole state. They would not seek to skim the surface by acquiring the rich water-falls and neglect or ignore the smaller ones. The private companies would not have the social purpose of conservation, of regulation, of flow, of reclaiming submerged lands as well as stimulating agriculture, as the public would have, if it were in charge of distribution as well as development.

There are a lot of collateral problems associated with the scientific plan of water development and hydro-electric distribution. It is estimated that there are in this state water wheels, having a capacity of about eighty hundred and thirty thousand horse-power, used for manufacturing and industrial purposes. There are hundreds of hydro-electric power plants, most of which operate only part of the year due to the lack of water in dry months. Most of them are supplemented by powerful steam auxiliary plants which are highly expensive. By a proper and systematic conservation of water the regulation of these streams could be effected successfully, and great gain could be secured to industry and to the public.

Ontario's Example

The successful public ownership and distribution of electricity in the Province of Ontario properly began with distribution and not with development. The commission there was not much concerned with who generated the hydro-electric energy; they were concerned with who distributed it. They began by buying wholesale electrical energy from private companies and distributing it to the municipalities and private consumers at cost. Only after their co-operative public enterprise proved eminently successful and when city after city had become educated to the principle of public ownership and distribution of hydro-electric energy did the Ontario Power Commission commence to go into the business of development as well as distribution. They began by buying up private plants and then by building plants of their own. Today over three hundred municipalities are being supplied with electricity at cost in the Province of Ontario under public development and distribution which owns properties in the aggregate of a quarter of a billion dollars.

What the Province of Ontario could do, the State of New York can.

There is no magic in the words "public development." If I were to make a start at all to have the government serve the community in the field of hydro-electric power, and if I were suspicious of the capacity of the government to go into the whole enterprise successfully, I would begin with distribution rather than begin with public development.

It seems to me if the public of this state is to be educated to public ownership of hydro-electric power, it should be done on behalf of real public development and distribution.

(From an address delivered before the Town Hall Club, March 26, 1926, New York City.)

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Fratern Insurance as a Party Cement

By Cameron H. King

ONE feature of Socialist Party organization which has impressed every party worker and official has been the transitory nature of its membership. Thousands of people join the party, pay a few months dues and then drop out. Some are re-enlisted, but many more lapse into the ranks of mere "friends and sympathizers." If the party had been able to retain as members the numerous persons who have been signed up, its membership today would probably number a half-million.

It is evident that one of our greatest problems of organization is the retention of these temporary members. A waning interest in party affairs, boredom at the rather dull routine of local meetings and a feeling that the party gives no adequate return either in instruction or amusement or practical results for the time and money devoted to it—these are some of the more important reasons for the "high rate of mortality" in our membership. We must seek a remedy that will counter-balance these reasons.

The desire to get some benefit out of Socialist Party membership is a natural and proper one, and inevitable. That benefit may be spiritual, intellectual or material; but we join and retain our membership for some satisfaction or desire that we get out of it. Where a comrade lets his membership lapse we may be sure that he feels he is no longer getting any benefit. We may feel that such a comrade is not idealistic enough or lacks tenacity of opinion and purpose; but the defect really lies in the form and methods of the organization when it fails to meet the requirements of the average man and woman who joins the party but cannot be held. The long procession of a half-million members into the party and out again is an indictment against the organization.

If our loss of membership had merely followed the economic and political fortunes of the country we might accept it philosophically as unavoidable. But during the boom years of our organization there was a constant stream out of the party as well as into it. This indicates that the grip of the

A Proposal to Meet the Problem of the Transitory Nature of Socialist Membership

party upon these members was and is defective and feeble.

For some time the conviction has been growing in my mind that the party must venture into a new field if it is to be more than a transitory resting place for brief enthusiasms. The experience of the Workers' Circle points us a valuable lesson. Founded the same year as the Socialist Party, it has grown steadily to a membership of more than 100,000. It is a Socialist organization. Its purposes, educationally and politically, are the same as those of the party. Its field for proselytizing is narrower, being limited to the Jewish-speaking workers. It has lacked the advantage of the publicity of political campaigns in securing adherents. It has been subject to the

same adverse and disruptive influences as the party organization. Yet it has held its membership and grown steadily while the party organization has gone up and gone down in violent fluctuations to its present low ebb.

I think it is unquestionable that the secret of the success of the Workers' Circle as compared with the Socialist Party dues-paying organization is to be found in the fact that the mutual or fraternal insurance of the Circle provides a benefit to its members and ties them to it by their lively, personal, beneficiary interest. Why should not the Socialist Party organization create such an interest among its membership?

We think of ourselves as a political party and of fraternal insurance as

foreign to the scope of political organization. However, in practically every State where they have official primary elections our dues-paying organization is not recognized by law. The law has erected its own method of constituting committees, conventions and party organizations. We have adapted ourselves to the law very imperfectly. As a matter of fact the law leaves little or no room in its official machinery for our dues-paying organization. The "red-card" party in the view of the law is simply a group of unofficial political clubs. Why not recognize this fact and proceed to organize these clubs, our party locals, on a mutual or fraternal beneficiary basis that will develop them into far more powerful political and educational instruments both in mem-

Some Negroes Who Were Free

By James Oneal

CONTRARY to the general view, Negro slaves did not provide the first form of servile labor in the American colonies. White servants, redemptioners, political prisoners and convicts provided the labor from which "primitive accumulation" of capital derived its origin. However, the Negro came to be a futile source of unearned income and some of the pillars of capitalism have their basis in his former servitude. He has played an important part in the evolution of American institutions and these cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of his history.

In a notable study (Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830. By Carter G. Woodson, Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., \$5) we have a valuable contribution to the history of the free Negro in the South during the old regime and in the North as well. There are 236 pages devoted to listing the names of free Negroes in the States in the year 1830, but the chief interest the reader will find in this work is the introduction of 54 pages.

Here Mr. Woodson presents an admirable review of the economic, social, educational and political status of the free Negro in the North and the South during the ante-bellum period. The comparison of his status in both sections brings out some striking contrasts which are not creditable to the North and which strengthen the view that the friendship shown for the Negro in the North when he escaped from slavery was prompted more by hatred of the slave system than affection for the Negro himself.

Color Line Not So Definite

Nor was the color line rigidly adhered to as a race dogma by whites in the South when material interest made it profitable to ignore it. The idea of race superiority was certainly set aside when some planters married

white women servants to Negroes in order to obtain slaves from the offspring of such unions. We also know that white masters were not averse to cohabiting with Negro women slaves and selling their own offspring in the slave market. The large number of mulattoes in the South was always an effective answer to those who accused the abolitionists of a desire to "amalgamate the races."

It is curious to note the effect of the ideas of the American revolution on the status of the Negro. In the North at least he realized full liberty for a time. Even marriage between blacks and whites was accepted without social odium being cast upon either party to such unions, but the first decade of the nineteenth century brought a reaction so that in the thirties and forties these unions became odious. Reaction brought increasing prejudice against the Negro, and before the middle of the century a number of race riots had disturbed Northern cities, especially in Pennsylvania. In the course of time the free Negro was debased, and from this study it would appear that his decline in the social order both North and South proceeded about the same time and at about the same rate in both sections.

South Let Them Vote

In some of the Southern States the free Negro was "permitted to vote as late as the second and third decade of the nineteenth century. But it was about this period that the full possibilities of the cotton gin and textile machinery were becoming evident, and as slavery became more profitable the free Negro began to lose caste. In fact, legislation tended to transform him into a slave. At the same time the increasing social, political and eco-

nomic barriers raised against the free Negro in the North so discouraged him that there are some cases of free Negroes returning to the South and selling themselves as slaves! Facts like these are likely to revise our opinions about a generous and humane North rising in godlike wrath to destroy slavery in order to raise the Negro to the status of a full citizen. Of course, there were those who thought that the free Negro should be regarded as a full citizen, but we also recall that there were Northern States that refused the free Negro the suffrage during the Civil War and the reconstruction that followed, and these States were controlled by Republicans.

Mr. Woodson has drawn upon his other works for this informing introduction. It is an admirable digest of his own and the writings of others on this theme. It is so compact in its information and so informing in its interpretation of so many factors related to the free Negro in our history that one finds it difficult to do it justice. We can only add that possession of the book is essential to those who would understand one important phase of American economic and social history.

In Danish union circles efforts are being made to smooth over the difficulties between the Danish Workingmen's Association and the central union organization, which resulted last September in the passing of a resolution by the Workingmen's Association for withdrawing from the central body by a vote of 208 to 166. As this withdrawal does not become effective until one year after its announcement, it is hoped that the would-be seceders may be made to see the error of their ways in time and thus keep the some 35,000 members of the Association within the Federation of Labor, of the total membership of which is about 237,000. The main cause of the dissension is dissatisfaction with "moderate" union leaders by Lyngsø, leader of the unskilled workers in the big strike of last spring, when 130,000 men and women blocked the Danish employers' attempt to abolish the sliding wage scale that had enabled the workers' earnings to keep pace with the rise in the cost of living.

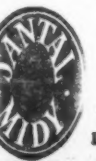
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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Let the Gyps Fall Where They May

OF THE many letters which I have received since publishing in this column certain criticisms of the do-nothing policies of old-line labor "leaders" none has denied the truth of the original charges which were that the underlying policy of the A. F. of L. is, to all appearances, apologetic rather than militant, that company unionism is everywhere making tremendous progress, that no concerted or consistent drive is being made to organize the great masses of unorganized workers.

Nearly every letter has contained mention of W. Z. Foster and suggested that any criticism of the A. F. of L. immediately lines up the critic with the "Wild men." This is a bit pathetic. Are the defense mechanisms of the pay-rollers so delicately adjusted that even the mildest adverse comment on their lack of activity serves to touch off the "Bolshevist Bugaboo"? Mind you, they seem to be in such a jumpy state that they consider that all criticism is answered by yelling "Red" at the critic. Never mind about the actual facts, make no attempt to answer specific charges, ignore the record and responsibility of those leveling these charges, just shout, "Moscow," and the trick is turned.

Then, of course, there is the old, old game of turning on the critic and asking him where he gets off? "May I rise to inquire who appointed you to the lofty position of critic?" asks one trade union correspondent. Well, Brother, I have no such appointment. I had not realized that the A. F. of L. was so perfect an organization that it is forbidden to discuss its policies in any but an awed and worshipping tone. Surely things are worse than I described them, if the situation is such that it is less majestic to touch on subjects that are of interest not only to trade union members, but to those who may be "outside" the labor movement and are nevertheless vitally concerned with its real progress. If we know from first-hand experience that the rank and file of unionists are being led down blind alleys, are being bemused and befuddled by the preaching of a bourgeois philosophy, are being abandoned in great numbers by their so-called "leaders," what then? Are we to sit on the sidelines and watch this edifying spectacle in muted silence, leaving to the extremists all forms of opposition, or are we to say what we believe is true and let the kysse fall where they may?

Muckraking is not our principal form of diversion at that. There are lots of other things we like better. Reading poetry, for example, and occasionally writing it. This may be taken as a solemn warning to Sam De Witt to see to it that that 100 bucks he is offering as a prize is real cash money "in de bank."

And we like to go every now and then to what is to us one of the most exciting places in New York, the Labor Temple at Second Avenue and Fourteenth Street, and there find out what is going on in the world of the mind and spirit. Beginning April 8 there will be a course of five lectures on what James Harvey Robinson once called, "The New Knowledge."

We had thought that we had long since emerged from the class of lecture hounds, but here's a series that is going to find us in the front row. The series opens, we are informed, "with a review of the unused knowledge acquired in the last two decades, followed by summaries of the recent work in natural science, psychology and sociology and concluding with a suggestion for the scientific diffusion of knowledge."

Jesse Lee Bennett opens the series on the Eighth with a talk on "The Frontiers of Knowledge." Then on the following Thursday comes Count Alfred Korzybski to discuss, "Relativity, the Electronic Theory, and Exact Thinking." (My God, what we don't know about all three!)

Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe considers "Man and Society," Joseph K. Hart treats of "The Science of Sociology" and Stuart Chase, on May 6, winds up the series with his hope on "The Tragedy of Intellectual Waste vs. the Scientific Distribution of Knowledge."

And then we like to play tennis and our heart is cheered by word that the courts are opening and we hope to high heaven that our game is better than last year.

Of course there was a time when we liked to sit under the sign of the goat on starry nights of Spring and drink back beer and recite Swinburne's poems and think what grand things we were going to do in the world. But those days are with "the forgotten, far-off things," and now the white mule has taken the place of the goat and Swinburne is out of date and our liver ain't what it used to be.

We've had a good time lately reading a book called "Mr. Topper," by Thomas Smith, published by McBride. Despite the fact that Thomas and I are close friends and have been for many, many years, I do not think I am prejudiced when I say that here's one of the grandest nut books that has come to our house in recent years. If you are low in your mind about the world in general, if your girl has left you flat, if you get to parties just as the gin has run out, or you wonder what's become of all those grand plans for making the world over, now night, get you, "Mr. Topper." It's the best cure I know of for those "Radical Blues."

McAlister Coleman.

THE WIND

By Jorge Hubner

(Translated from the Spanish by Alice Stone Blackwell)

Out of the clouds you fashion great armfuls of white lilies,
Or airy barks that evening rocks on seas of boiling gold,
And out of drifting sand-wreaths build wandering architecture,
And out of trunks of oak-trees make trumpets manifold.

In everything you leave your life's deep restlessness, which drives you
To roam in search of regions more beautiful, more wide;
And you have hurled yourself in wrath upon the sleeping water,
To see the brightness of the stars broken and multiplied.

You travel with a burden of music and of perfumes;
To all you give them freely. Wind of the magic voice,
Your secret is, the feeling you find of souls far distant,
And wait it here, and leave it in some bosom of your choice.

You pour out unseen vases, full of mysterious marvels,
When you come back to greet us from journeying afar;
You give to simple, artless souls a trace of unknown fragrance,
That they may for a moment live in some other star.

Wind of the strong, swift impulses, wind of the fresh renewals,
You that lay low before your dark forests centuries old,
And o'er the mass of ruins lift up your songs and chant them,
Hoarse as the drums of crowds that fight for freedom, rough and bold!

I give to you my spirit! Blow on it hard and fiercely!
The tree is old, and ripe the fruit, ready to you to yield.
O wind, when to the music of your return I listen,
For the ideal future I may be the virgin field!

Into the Cave



The Fabian Forecast of Society

HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

ACCORDING to the Fabians, social and industrial developments were leading to Socialism, while sound economic and moral principles demanded that the system of social ownership be substituted for the present industrial order. The Fabians did not stop with the analysis of trends toward Socialism. They gave much attention to the character of the social system that Socialists should strive to attain. In doing this, they attempted to avoid the errors of the early Utopians in depicting in detail their ideal social state, irrespective of social trends, and endeavored to trace to their logical conclusion social tendencies definitely observable in the body politic.

Graham Wallis, political scientist, undertook the task of envisioning property relationships under Socialism. In the days of the Utopian Socialists, he declares, Socialists were tempted to exaggerate the influence of the ideal, "to expect everything from a sudden, impossible change in men's hearts." Conditions in the eighties, however, are entirely reversed. "Nowadays we are tempted to undervalue the ideal—to forget that even the time spirit itself is only the sum of individual strivings and aspirations, and that again and again in history changes which might have been delayed for centuries or might never have come

at all, have been brought about by the persistent preaching of some new and higher life, the offspring not of circumstance, but of hope."

Problems of Associated Production and Consumption. In describing the Socialist ideal, he declared that, in substance, Socialists "work for the ownership of the means of production by the community, and the means of consumption by individuals." That generalization, however, does not prevent the community, at its will, for using property for direct consumption, as when a piece of common land is used for a public park, or when the profits from a municipal water-works are applied to keep up a municipal library. Nor would Socialists prevent an individual from working on their possessions in such a way as to make them more valuable. "But men are as yet more fit for association in production, with a just distribution of rewards, than for association in the consumption of the wealth produced."

It is true indeed that the economies of associated consumption promise to be quite as great as those of associated production; and it was of these that the earlier Socialists mainly thought. But experiments have since proved that, in spite of the economies of associated consumption, any complete scheme is distasteful to most men as they are.

"Our picture galleries, parks, workmen's clubs, or the fact that rich men are beginning to live in flats looked after by a common staff of servants, (Wallis continues) do indeed show that associated consumption is every year better understood and enjoyed; but it remains true that pleasures, chosen by the will of the majority, are often not recognized as pleasures at all." Each family now insists on having a separate home, and on cooking every day a separate series of meals in a separate kitchen. Waste and discomfort are the inevitable result; but families at present prefer waste and discomfort to that abundance which can only be bought by organization and publicity.

It is true that the land on which houses are built could immediately become the property of the state, but people would "certainly insist on having their own crockery and chairs, books and pictures, and on receiving a certain proportion of the value they produce in the form of a yearly or weekly income to be spent or saved as they pleased."

National and Local Ownership. There would remain to be owned by the community the land in the widest sense of the word, and the materials of those forms of production, distribution and consumption which can conveniently be carried on by associations wider

than the family group. In the case of the principal means of production and distribution, where the larger the area covered the more efficient the management, ownership would reside in the nation, as in the case of the postal and railway industries, and probably the materials of some of the larger industries. Ultimately, perhaps, such ownership would be transferred to a federation of nations.

On the other hand, land might often better be held by smaller social groups. At the same time, those forms of natural wealth which are considered necessary by the whole nation, and the monopolies of certain districts—for instance, mines, harbors or sources of water supplies—should be nationalized. Even where land were owned by local bodies, those bodies should contribute to the national exchequer some proportion of the income. Voluntary association should persist, as in the editing of journals of opinion, but perpetual rights should not be given to any association not co-extensive with the community.

Mr. Wallis endeavored likewise to present solutions to various other problems that would arise under a socialist society which would be but a stepping stone to some higher form of industrial society.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

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There came a day when an unwonted wave of excitement spread over the capitol. Dan noticed it first as he came in. Representatives were gathered in groups whispering. Toward noon, Andrewson told him casually, "Gaylard's taken a room at the Pioneer Hotel."

"Yes," Dan waited. What of it? Who is Gaylard? he wanted to ask.

"It means mischief. He's over here to whip 'em into line on the appropriation bills. We'll caucus tonight."

The labor group caucused at the Golden Valley House in an upper room. Amidst the smoke of innumerable cigars, there was a good deal of hot talk, but Andrewson held the majority pretty well in line.

Biddies came and gave trouble. He was cynical of political action, said he felt contempt for the whole "mouthy business." With a sneer on his pallid face, he sat back, only to break in now and then with bitter irrelevancy. He had a plan, he announced.

"I move you, Mr. Chairman," he declared, "that this group of representatives serve notice on the House and Senate that it refuses to attend another session of the respective houses until Gaylard and his gang of fixers take bag and baggage and go back to Minneapolis."

"Representative Biddies you are out of order," snapped Andrewson. "I appeal from the ruling of the chair," retorted the interloper, with a wry smile.

There followed a parliamentary wrangle in which Biddies showed a remarkable display of technicalities and furnished a good deal of amusement in his tactics of delay for everyone except Andrewson.

After this controversy, the meeting settled down to a discussion of two plans of action, one proposed by Andrewson, and the other by Minturn. Andrewson was cautious, a Fabian fighter. He proposed to keep the anti-injunction bill, passage of which was the main objective of the minority at this session, in committee, in the hope of trading support on the appropriation measure for support on the anti-injunction act.

Dan demanded the opposite course of action.

"Away with all whisperings in corridors and enigmings," he urged. "Bring in the anti-injunction measure at once, make a clean fight for it; let the Gaylard gang defeat it, and then use the

defeat as the excuse for holding up the coin."

At the word "enigmings," Andrewson snuffed, turned color and clenched his fists. When Dan had finished he sprang to his feet, bitter and distraught.

"I admit," he said. His voice was cold and bitter. "That when one undertakes to do quiet work on a measure it does not give a chance for orating, nor pitch a fellow into the headlines. But it passes bills."

Someone laughed.

For a moment Minturn felt himself tremble, and grope in darkness. He saw Hugh's white face and the peculiar way in which his brother pulled back his lips from small, sharp teeth. He yearned to pummel Andrewson's face, as he had once raked Hugh's with blows—but civilization held. He found himself on his feet, peculiarly calm and clear-brained, striving for words that would snarl and bite.

"When I said 'eniggle,' Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, I meant 'sniggle.' 'Sniggle' you know has a peculiar origin. It's a corruption of the word 'smuggle,' to embrace, and is related to 'smuggle,' to sneak. It's a near kinsman of the words 'graft' and 'boodles.' When I used them I did not intend them for the honorable chairman, but since he appears to take them to himself, that is his business."

"Insults," Andrewson's voice was shrill.

They—the old and young leaders—glared at each other; then quit their brawl. When the vote was taken, Dan's plan had prevailed, but it was Andrewson and not Minturn who was authorized to put it into action.

Three days later the anti-injunction bill was suddenly reported out of the judiciary committee, where it was supposed to be reposing until Andrewson waved his wand. Andrewson was not in the House at the time, but was on the Senate side, lobbying for a minor measure, and Dan sensed trickery, even collusion, on the part of his leader.

In a brief preliminary skirmish, he saw Hurst, the conservative whip, marshal his forces, and saw his own ranks grow confused and waver. Then he was on his feet.

He was cool now. His mind picked up with precision the scattered threads of history, economics and facts. His St. Paul speech on the use of injunctions in labor disputes came back like clear, fresh thoughts, and his voice

was vibrant with conviction. He felt the galleries grow tense with interest. He felt the tug of approval in his own followers, and finally even Hurst paused midway in the aisle and waited respectfully while young Thor thundered.

He spoke just a half hour, but in that time he traversed the thirty-five years of injunction history, traced its effects on the body politic and painted graphically the culmination of these "night attacks on American constitutional liberty."

He finished. The vote, when taken, sent the bill back as he desired, by a margin of five votes, to committee. Five Democrats and three Republicans had followed the minority lead. It was these eight votes which Dan had won over.

6

He was elected. Within him flamed consciousness of triumph. He could not keep it from showing in his walk,

in the toss of his head, in his voice, deeper now, ending on a new tone of conviction. He was surrounded now by his followers, admiration in their eyes, and gratitude in their voices. Victory tasted sweet, and with the thrill of power came desire for woman.

He came upon them suddenly. Senator Goodnite was bending over the cigar case, his great stomach pressed against the glass, until it seemed almost to envelop it, his cigar rolling in his expansive mouth.

"Girle," the fat man was saying, "I'd like to buy you a fur coat."

"And a Stutz fourseater, and bungalow, and a dozen pairs of silk stockings." Billy's voice trailed off in a covetous little gurgle, half a demand, half a caress.

Pleasure went out of Representative Minturn swiftly, as if blown from him by a chill wind, and in its place welled desire to wound her, and to cynicism.

(To be continued next week)

The Danish Socialists Reclaim Their Son

By Marius Hansome

WALKING past the Old Astor House, in process of being wrecked, I thought of an incident in the life of Poul Geleff, grand old comrade and one of the three brave souls who founded the Danish Social Democratic Party. It will be remembered that the Winter of 1878-79 was very hard. There was a business crisis which caused severe unemployment in Denmark. Louis Pio, leader of the Social Democratic movement, laid a plan before the executive committee which proposed to establish a Social Democratic colony in America. Pio thought that there was ample room in America for those who were on the verge of starvation in Denmark, if means could only be found to ship the unfortunates to the promised land.

The executive committee assented to the plan, and Poul Geleff was chosen as a committee of one to sail for America to investigate conditions.

Upon the recommendation of the captain of the passenger liner, Geleff took lodging in the old Astor House. The price per day was then \$3. Geleff stayed two weeks. In order to economize, our comrade didn't eat at the hotel, but scouted around for cheap restaurants. When the time came to "check out," Geleff learned with chagrin that the three dollars covered

not only the room rent, but also the meals!

Our venerable comrade Poul Geleff, now 84, sits smiling, snug and tight, within the bosom of the hospitable home of the charming daughter of Louis Pio, Mrs. Sylvia Poulsen.

In 1920, after forty-three years of refugee life in America, unknown, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark learned of Poul Geleff's serious illness and confinement to a hospital in Newton, Kansas. Having expressed a desire to return to his native land, the party reached out its palm with the necessary funds and brought the lonely son and erstwhile leader of the Socialist cause home to little Denmark, where he could rest in the afternoon of life unharmed by the police and exception laws, and where Poul Geleff could see the healthy growth of the Social Democratic tree whose seed he helped to plant.

Hail to Poul Geleff and the Danish Social Democratic Party!

Johnny, Get Your Gun

SOMEONE apparently is hell bent to stir up trouble with Mexico. The papers are dripping with stories almost as atrocious as the notes of Secretary Kellogg. Blood, murder, gore, confiscation, bolshevism and revolution are spilling all over the torrid territory across the Rio Grande. Hardly a day passes that some voluntary exile from the best country on earth is not robbed, hung, shot, poisoned, raped or burned out of house and home by the detestable "Greasers."

Of course, it may be said that any one who doesn't like the playful ways of the Mexicans can avoid all difficulties by staying out of Mexico. There is no reason, for instance, why our old friend Doherty, of Teapot Dome fame should suffer indignities in Mexico, unless it be that Mexicans are even easier picked than Americans. And, if so, the dividends ought to make up for the indignities.

This whole hullabaloo about the naughtiness of our neighbor would be laughable to anyone knowing the actual condition in Mexico, were it not for the knowledge that nothing is easier stirred up than national animosities. It would be exceedingly difficult to induce the man in the street to break into some strange house to settle a family quarrel, but it is no trouble at all to induce the same man to shoulder his gun to settle the quarrel of people across a boundary line. No doubt, many crimes are committed in Mexico. Just as many crimes are committed in the United States. No doubt Americans have been robbed and murdered in Mexico, just as hundreds of Mexicans have been robbed and murdered in the United States. No doubt life and property are not always safe in Mexico, any more than they are always safe in the United States. But that there is an unusual degree of lawlessness in Mexico, is more than they can make me believe, and I speak from experience.

Some years ago I happened to find myself in Old Mexico. It was in the early days of the Obregon regime. Things were very much unsettled. According to the press of the United States, Americans were killed right and left in the land of the prickly cacti. Property was not safe. Nothing was safe but bandits and banditry.

I walked in broad daylight through the avenues of Mexico City, expecting momentarily to receive a dagger thrust in my back. Nothing happened. I tried the same avenue after midnight and still nothing happened. I turned my steps toward the peon quarters, to catch a glimpse of a sure enough assassin in the light of the midday sun. No use. Then I tried to find my party in the mellow rays of the moon. Still no luck.

Made desperate by my failure, I invaded the rural district made famous by the atrocities of the Zapata brothers. I did so with my heart in my mouth and in full realization that another great life was about to be snuffed out in the service of science.

I failed to locate the Zapatas, but I found one of their lieutenants, Soto De Gamo or something like that. After some violent gesticulation on both parts, we adjourned to a cantina for a drink. Unable to make out what the boddyker said when removing the empty glasses, I nodded my head socially, signifying, "all right with me."

As a result of this one-sided conversation, there were many drinks. How many I am unable to tell. Moreover, the stuff we drank was a first-class atrocity in itself. Some sort of homebrew made from the sap of cacti. I think they called it "pokey." So instead of inspiring me to sing "Sweet Adeline," it put me to sleep.

When I came to next morning, Soto was gone, to shoot Gringos, I presume, but the cantina cacti juice dispenser was still sleeping on the bar. Realizing my perilous position, I sat up with a start and made a grab in the vicinity of my heart to discover if it was still beating. It did. Then I reached for my watch to find it was still ticking in the accustomed place. It ticked. My pocketbook was intact in the old depository. Nothing missing. Nothing hurt. The only alarming thing I noticed was that someone was beating a bass drum on the inside of my head.

Returning to the city from that reckless trip, I observed further indications that the Mexican bandits can't be trusted to deliver the goods. During a previous stay I had often noticed anaemic looking young men lugging small but apparently heavy sacks through the streets. I even met them in alleys, resting and wiping the perspiration from their foreheads with the small sacks at their feet. Now I was informed that the sacks contained gold, which these unarmed and unescorted young fellows were carrying to and from banks. Can you beat it?

A few months later I was standing on the corner of 17th Street and Broadway, New York, when a burly-looking cop accosted me with the greeting: "Hello, you, move on." "What for?" I inquired mildly. "None of your back talk," he growled. "You get the hell out of here or I'll paste you one."

For a free-born citizen of this safe and sane democracy, that was rather hard to swallow, but I "got." Then, safely across the street, I learned the cause of my eviction. The building I had menaced with my vicinity was a bank. In front of the bank stood an armored car in which armed guards were loading sacks of money.

Yes, life and money are perfectly safe in God's country, but not in Mexico. So, Johnny, get your gun, the "Greasers" need law and order.

Adam Coalidigger.

"The New Leader Joins the Pack," the Daily Worker informs its devotees in a five-column headline. After wading through two columns of warmed-over hysterics, we fail to find any reference to The New Leader. The thesis, manifesto, proclamation, ultimatum, or what have you, is to be continued in "the next," however. We suppose these articles on The New Leader will finally mention us sometime about July 18. Don't wake us up if we happen to be sleeping.

Hanford McNider, Assistant Secretary of War, has called the attention of executives of great corporations to the "gigantic proportions of the preparedness problem." He adds that organization of materials, industries and conscripts "is not preparation for war, but a preparation and insurance against war." McNider would probably stock up his cellar with gin and white mule to avoid going on a souse. We now know how to insure peace. Will this great thinker please tell us how we may get a jolly world war?

The Realities of Imperialism

By Louis Silverstein

THE writer recalls a dinner about a year and a half ago at which Scott Nearing discussed American Imperialism with Otto H. Kahn, the banker. Nearing brought with him his usual array of maps to elicit his arguments and when he was through Kahn arose and calmly stated that as a member of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, who were involved in the finances of the Caribbean nations, he had never in his experience witnessed an example of imperialism on the part of the United States. Instead, he had only praise for the benevolent paternalistic policy that this country had succeeded in carrying out there.

It is doubtful whether our innocent—or is it sophisticated?—banker would be induced to change his opinion as a result of a reading of Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman's "Dollar Diplomacy" (published by H. W. Huebsch and the Viking Press, \$2.50) and the companion volume, "American Foreign Investments," by Robert W. Dunn (published by the Viking Press, \$5).

It was so much expected that these studies—or at least the first—would turn out to be propagandistic volumes, merely overgrown pamphlets, that the authors guarded themselves so well against this eventuality that even the "New York Times" book reviewer praised "Dollar Diplomacy" for its impartial presentation of the facts.

The result has been a professional account of American imperialism, which deserves unstinted credit for its masterly compilation of data, fraught with dryness. What is lacking are a little plain editorializing where inferences are justified by the facts and an inextinguishable neglect of the labor aspects of imperialism.

Had the authors applied Nearing's

The American Empire Revealed In Two Valuable New Books

own definition of "empire" as given in his previous book, "The American Empire," which, briefly stated, is "the exploitation of subject peoples and conquered territory for the benefit of the ruling class of the home country," they would have pointed out the effect that imperialism has upon the working people at home and the exploited natives abroad. Instead, they have accepted the conventional definitions of Hobson and Culbertson, with their neglect of the exploitive character of imperialism that every Socialist recognizes. Imperialism is not paternalism; it is robbery.

The two volumes under discussion are the kind of books that every radical must have alongside of him for constant reference. Not only are they useful summaries in their field, but the footnotes and references are aids to further investigation. The books are portions of the same research project, and therefore should have been published in uniform volumes. Instead, the Dunn book is larger in size and costs twice the price of "Dollar Diplomacy," taking it out of the reach of the average reader, who should have it, and giving the monopoly of it to professional investors and book reviewers. Perhaps this was due to technical difficulties that were encountered in the arrangement of the statistical tables, but probably a smaller type and format would have reduced the selling price. The imprudent and curious reader, moreover, will want to know whether there will be paper editions of both volumes, as it has been usual with Nearing books.

Dunn's "American Foreign Investments" is an indispensable guide to the realities of the financial imperialism of the United States. The book is divided into two equal sections. The first consists of detailed lists showing (1) loans of the American government to foreign governments; (2) foreign government, provincial and municipal loans floated in the American market; (3) loans floated by foreign corporations and by American corporations with major business abroad; (4) sterling and foreign internal issues held in the United States; (5) foreign connections of United States banks, and (6) other American investments abroad. Thus, if there is trouble brewing in Honduras, you consult this volume, and on pages 109 to 111 you will find the names of the American companies interested financially in that country and the extent of their investments. Then you read between the lines in the newspaper dispatches. It appears that at the end of 1924 Americans had more than nine billion dollars invested abroad, and that does not include the additional twelve billions owed by foreign governments to the United States Government as a result of our assisting them in the World War.

The second section of the book is the work chiefly of Adrian Richt. It contains translations and reprints of actual contracts and concessions illustrative mainly of the American financial invasion of the Caribbean. They are invaluable, but they can be substantially reduced in number in a popular edition of "American Foreign Investments."

Finally, there are three indices: one of tables and lists; a second, of countries and geographical areas; and a third, of corporations and persons. It would be of great assistance to add another detailed index, of commodities, such as Moody's "Analyses of Investments" contains. For example, under "Dutch East Indies and Malay Peninsula" the reader will find on pages 162 and 163 a list of American rubber companies who control plantations in the region mentioned, yet in none of the three available indices can he find a reference to "rubber," which will lead him to turn to the appropriate pages. It is hoped that this defect will be remedied in any subsequent editions.

"Dollar Diplomacy," by Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman is a different sort of book. Its purpose is descriptive rather than statistical. Beginning with an account of economic backgrounds, it plunges into a descrip-

tion of American imperialism in action. The treatment is commendable since it is topical rather than chronological or merely geographical. The following types of imperialism that are distinguished by the authors illustrate what is meant:

1. Economic penetration: Canada and Bolivia.
2. Spheres of influence: China and Mesopotamia.
3. Political "regulation": Hawaii, Panama and Mexico.
4. Armed intervention: Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua.
5. Acquisition without annexation: Cuba.

6. Conquest and purchase: Philippines and Virgin Islands.
7. War debts and settlements: Europe. Finally, there appear a general summary of the historical growth of American imperial policy and a short appendix reproducing illuminating treaties and contracts. The book is a well-rounded summary of existing historical research on American imperialism.

"Dollar Diplomacy," however, proves unsatisfactory in several ways besides those mentioned in the opening paragraph of this review:

- (1) It fails to make a clear-cut distinction between economic and financial imperialism. The terms and concepts are used loosely. (P. xiii and ch. II) In the one the merchant and manufacturer occupy the center of the stage, in the other the banker.

- (2) The authors assume that investments necessarily make for political domination and exploitation. This is not true of Canada, where American capitalists have placed by far the largest proportion of their surplus wealth. It was not the case with the United States up to the World War when the English invested heavily in this country. Frankly, it is not apt to occur even in Europe. We must look upon imperialism as "subjection" not merely "migration of capital." Otherwise, it is simply beneficial commerce among peoples. Do American investments in Canada, then, constitute imperialism?

- (3) The writers have pictured the types of imperialism that we enumerated above as steps in a cycle of development. (pp. 17-18) The facts do not bear out this generalization. Each type is a separate phenomenon and may or may not have passed through other stages.

- (4) No additional light is thrown on several disputatious points: What part did American capitalists play in bringing about the Spanish-American War? Who blew up the "Maine"? Did the United States Government foment the revolution in Panama? Were American business men behind the move to annex the Philippines?

- (5) Some omissions occur: the share of Rush, the American minister to London, in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine; the acquisition of Alaska and the Gadsden Purchase; the part that Roosevelt played in the negotiations surrounding the Portsmouth Treaty and the Algeiras Conference; the opposition of the transcontinental railroads to any isthmian canal at all; the role of the Treaty of 1846 with Colombia in giving a legal justification for the behavior of the United States; the final settlement of the Colombian claims in 1922 and the reasons for it.

- (6) There are a number of misstatements of fact: Page 7—The United States does not import "very large quantities" of meat. (See World Almanac, 1926, p. 370.) Pages 12-13—D. R. Crissinger is no longer Controller of the Treasury. He has been Governor of the Federal Reserve Board since 1923. Incidentally, his title was Controller of the Currency. Page 53—The Lansing-Ishii agreement was not secret. (See "New York Times Index," Oct.-Dec., 1917, p. 65.) Page 235—It was the Quadruple not the Holy Alliance that met at Verona in 1822.

- Page 240—The three American ministers who signed the Ostend Manifesto did not all come "from below

the Mason and Dixon line." Buchanan was a Pennsylvanian, and was probably hankering for the support of Southern Democrats. Map facing page 230—The Gadsden Purchase along the Mexican frontier, which appears on the map of the United States as of 1850, was not acquired until 1853. Page 233—There are typographical errors in the figures for Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua. Also, the statistics quoted are not accurate.

(7) The authors, on page 121, pounce upon an admission by a reputable historian of the existence of protectorates in these words:

"At least one modern American history presents a map of the Caribbean with American protectorates indicated by special markings." The book referred to is Lingley's "Since the Civil War," and the map is reproduced. It is only fair to state that Ogg in his volume "National Progress" in the classic "American Nation Series," published in 1918, two years before Lingley's book, inserted such a map. It is more surprising to note that in New York State the official history syllabus recognizes the existence of an American "colonial empire," and under the sub-topic "our policy of protectorates," mentions Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo and Haiti.

A final word: If the present reviewer has taken pains to point out certain shortcomings of "Dollar Diplomacy" and "American Foreign Investments," it is only because he considers them such excellent books and so worthy of consultation and trust, that they ought to be free of obvious defects. Both volumes are treasure-houses of information and are already classics in their field.



"From My Own Personal Experience and Observation I Can Say That the United States Has Never Been Involved in an Imperialist Enterprise," Otto H. Kahn, banker.

Socialist Thought in Czecho-Slovakia

By Ales Broz

FEW men in the Czechoslovak Socialist movement have occupied themselves with the theoretical questions of Socialism. This is true not only of the Czech Socialist Democrats, but also of the Bohemian German Social Democracy. One of the reasons accounting for this negligence of the theoretical questions was that the party occupied itself mostly with practical politics. Another reason consisted in the fact that there was but a very small number of intellectuals who joined the Social Democratic Party.

Since the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic there seems to be a far greater interest in the theoretical questions of Socialism. There have appeared at least three books which constitute a very valuable contribution to the Socialist thought of today. The first one, "Samospava prace" (Self-government of Labor) appeared in 1918 and is written by a well known Czech Socialist thinker, Francis Modrack. The author points out the necessity for the workers to prepare themselves to take over the control of industries, and he outlines how this should be done. He is a strong advocate of the cooperative movement. Some of his ideas are re-

Interesting Contributions To Working Class Literature

gards the self-government of labor are similar to those advocated in England by G. D. H. Cole, though Modrack at the time of writing his book had never read any of G. D. H. Cole's works.

An Administrative Problem According to Modrack, Socialism does not mean only class-struggle and the struggle of workers for power, but it is at the same time an administrative problem, a problem involving the intellectual capacity of the workers to manage industrial establishments and to govern society. State Socialism would be economically inefficient. State Collectivism and capitalist establishments have a common defect; they are not based on personal responsibility of the workers and consequently their organization represents an overlordship of the State or the capitalists over labor. Modrack therefore advises the workers not to rely too much upon the State, not to expect everything from Parliament, because Socialism will not be realized in Ministerial offices, but will emerge from human

society, from practical education and democratization of our economic and social life. Thus Modrack puts in place of the Socialist State a Cooperative Commonwealth which he wants to bring about in three ways: 1, by cooperative societies; 2, trade unionism; and 3, by political democracy.

Two Other New Books The other two books were written by a young Czech Socialist intellectual, Dr. Joseph Macek. They are, "Problem ceny v socialismu" (The Question of Price in Socialism) which appeared in 1921, and "Zaklady socialni politiky" (The Basis of Social Policy), which appeared in 1925. Both these books are permeated with many new ideas, with keen observations of the present economic and social order and with many suggestions to the Socialists.

Dr. Macek is not a doctrinaire. He accepts some of the theories developed by Karl Marx, but on the whole he adheres to no particular school. Nor does he create a school of his own. His principal aim is to bring the Czech Socialists to clear thinking and sound methods and ways leading to Socialism. According to Dr. Macek, the best way is that of social reforms.

Capitalism is already in the process of decay, he says, and out of its ruins arises a new social order. Year by year the capitalist society is changing itself by the introduction of far-reaching social reforms such as the legal eight hour working day, the expropriation of large landowners, social insurance, control of mining and other large industries, etc. A scientific and constructive Socialist will seek a way coupled with the least resistance. He will work in a democratic way, that is, in such a way as to assure himself of cooperation of all those who are to be helped. He will lead the people so that at every stage of the social transformation they will feel themselves

happier and thus prevent any return to the old conditions.

How the future Socialist State should look, Dr. Macek does not attempt to outline. To him, as to Bernstein, "the aim is nothing and the movement everything." The study of human psychology teaches us, he says, that human beings are "eternally" dissatisfied, constantly looking for something new. The satisfaction of each demand leads to new demands and so ad infinitum. Man of today cares but little for any final or definite ideal, be it individual or collective.

Men, as nations, change their aims and their ideals the nearer they approach them. Scientific socialism does not put up final and definite aims to the Social movement. It is a method based upon experience pointing out how to change the social conditions to the benefit and happiness of all. This happiness, however, does not consist only in the satisfaction of material needs, but also in the moral position of the man in the social life of the community. Man does not want to be well off only, he wants to be free, equal to all others, and he demands justice.

It will be observed that Dr. Macek is first of all a social reformist. His books are thought-provoking and both critical and constructive, but he seems to underestimate the propagandistic value to a militant workers' party of an ideal, of a clearly defined program and of a watchword.

The Final Goal The success of Marx's teachings lies in the fact that he put up before the workers the banner of class struggle and of social revolution around which millions could rally and have rallied. Social reforms alone cannot and will not attract millions of followers. Workers must have something more to fight for than mere social reforms, nor can they be expected to fight for something which in the end may not prove the desired thing after all. Socialists may differ as to methods, they need not bother about details as to how the future Socialist Commonwealth should look, but they can never give it up as their final goal, nor ought they ever fail to emphasize its importance.

The Rebel Jews

PERHAPS a more appropriate title for this book ("Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements," by Louis Israel Newman, Ph.D., Columbia University Press, \$7.50) would be "Jewish Martyrdom in Christian Reform Movements." For whatever the Jews contributed to the Christian reform movements was very little in comparison with what they received in the form of persecutions, banishments and auto-de-fes. It was very convenient for the church authorities to brand any heresy as Judaizing, so that they may immediately mete out their punishment upon the Jews, who were supposed to be enemies of the church per se. Whether it was the iconoclastic controversy of the ninth century; the Catharist, Waldensian and Judaizing heresies of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries; the Hussite movement of the 15th century; the Reformation, or any other minor defection from the accepted church canons, the Jews and their law and their God were lurking behind them to destroy the power of the Christian God. And whenever Rome's bloody whip awaked through countries and centuries to punish heresy, the Jews somehow managed to get in its way and receive its most effective blows. In fact, it is hard to understand how they ever managed to get through such consistent and relentless martyrdom and to still continue in this hazardous business of serving as lightning rod for all reaction in history. At any rate, this book, which covers only a part of that bloody scenario called the Christian Church and the Jews is quite sufficient in its thoroughness and impassioned statement of fact. To a historian and scholar it may be nothing but another book on a subject quite well covered before. But to the reviewer this book looms as a veritable monument to the patience, scholarship and industry of the author. That its title should be so "dry" and scholastic is regrettable, indeed, for I know of no book which could be more fascinating, more dramatic and more stimulating than this voluminous but live treatise of Dr. Newman. It is full

Industrial Museums

AS you have walked through the Grand Central Terminal in New York City you have probably seen on the eastern balcony exhibits of locomotives and coaches used on the railroads in their early history and more modern signals flashing red and green to attract your attention. This is an example of what Mr. Richards means by "The Industrial Museum." ("The Industrial Museum," by Charles R. Richards. The Macmillan Co. 1925. \$3.)

He wants similar museums established in every large city in the country to portray to the people the tremendous developments which have revolutionized and will continue to revolutionize industry. He describes the four great European industrial museums, in Paris, London, Munich and Vienna, and includes many interesting photographs in the volume.

There can be no special objection to the program. But it is apparent that the capitalist class would carry it out as a part of its general educational program. The New York Chamber of Commerce endorsed the scheme at its meeting on January 7 and urged the inclusion of such a museum in the College of Commerce and Administration which it hopes to establish in New York City. Dr. Finley, chairman of the Committee on Commercial Education, thinks that the museum should "serve as a laboratory for young men who are preparing for public business." It is patent that the workers in the steel mills, automobile factories and the metal trades need no additional laboratories in which to study the realities of industrialism. They need to increase their control over the industrial process. They can, for the present, afford to leave the marveling at "man's conquest of his environment, and his industrial and commercial development" to the charming young men who are preparing to exploit them.

Roland A. Gibson.

of all the irony, contradiction and persistence of life, and the lessons it contains are meat to the thinker and philosopher of history.

By B. C. Vladeck.

A Timid Radical

THE reading of this little book ("Incentives in the New Industrial Order," by J. A. Hobson, New York, Thomas Seltzer, 1925; \$1.75; 160 pp.) would afford useful mental exercise to intelligent persons with no more than a moderate knowledge of orthodox economics and a reasonable degree of familiarity with the industrial system. It would help them to see the obvious shortcomings of the capitalist order in its present form and to make a beginning at comprehending the general lines of necessary reconstruction.

To the student with a good knowledge of Socialist thought, however, and a volume of experience and thought of his own economic problems, Hobson's very academic, very professional, and very cautious survey of requirements and probabilities can be of little service save to remind him that the minds of even the most liberal economists of the liberal class are amazingly bound down by the system under which they have lived and from which their spirits have never found emancipation.

Hobson can contemplate no more than a very slight modification of the present system along such lines as "the abolition of unrestricted profiteering," "the substitution of representative government for employers' autocracy," "measures for apportioning the product equitably and by pacific agreement among the parties interested in industry." The book pur-

ports to be a psychological study of the problems of keeping this "new" order going effectively, but it reads more like a closet philosopher's cogitations. There is nothing about it to suggest actual contact with affairs or even an expert acquaintance with psychology. Thus we are confronted with "the permanent character of the acquisitive instinct," and in general we are regaled with the kind of plausible, theoretical, made-to-order advice that abstract reasoning on the basis of very little and very remote economic experience might be expected to yield.

Any well-informed Socialist could guess at most of the "incentives" that are trotted out. It is easy to see that the author is either too old or too bourgeois to let his imagination play freely and constructively on the world emergency and on the economic and social problems that challenge the workers.

Arthur W. Calhoun.

Captain Paxton Hibben On the New Russia

Captain Paxton Hibben, for several years agent of the American Relief for Children in Russia, and a close student of affairs in Russia, will deliver a lecture on "The New Russia," this Friday evening, April 2, under the auspices of the Tremont Educational Forum, at 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont avenue. All are urged to come at 8.30 sharp.

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A m u s e m e n t s

DRAMA

MARGUERITE NAMARA



One of the principals in the revival of "Pinafore," which opens at the Century Theatre Tuesday night.

Good Song, Dance And Girl Show

"The Girl Friend," with Eva Puck and Sam White, at the Vanderbilt

THE new song, dance and girl show now playing at the Vanderbilt Theatre may be styled a successful entertainment of this sort with some reservations, but the "perfect" musical comedy is yet to be produced, even in the face of such successes as "Rose-Marie" and "No, No, Nanette." But, leaving serious critical carplings aside, in general "The Girl Friend," musically and lyrically, is much above the usual theatrical offerings of this sort and should at least finish the season in New York. That crafty old-timer of the stage, Lew Fields, is the presenter of the offering. The book has been written by Herbert Fields, the lyrics by Lorenz Hart, and the music by Richard Rogers.

Concisely, the plot concerns itself with the coming-up of the line of a six-day bicycle rider from the farm to the arena and success. The plot is, of course, interspersed with fresh chorused specialties, catchy songs, eccentric dances, with possibly one of the main defects on the side of scenic inestiture, which, with the exception of several settings, are commonplace.

The cast is headed by that favorite vaudeville team, Eva Puck and Sam White. Miss Puck is a very personable artist and helps possibly more than the other women in the cast to carry the offering to success. White bears the major part of the goings-on on his able shoulders, so whenever the action lags he is brought on to speed up the show again, which he does most amusingly. Evelyn Cavanaugh and June Cochrane, completing the triumvirate of leading young ladies in the cast, also do much to help the success of the play. Miss Cavanaugh is a luscious blonde, and Miss Cochrane, late of the Theatre Guild via "The Garrick Gaities," is a decided asset to Broadway musical comedies.

But "The Girl Friend" will achieve whatever measure of success that is due it by its song numbers. One of these without saying is called "The Girl Friend." Another one that is bound to be all over town before real spring sets in is "The Blue Room." There is also a topical song called "The Damsel Who Done All the Dirt," that rings a bell's eye.

To repeat, there have been many worse song shows on Broadway than "The Girl Friend," and few this season excel it.

The Shuberts announce that they plan the formation of a permanent stock company, presenting the works of Gilbert and Sullivan, of which company the cast of the forthcoming all-star revival of "H. M. S. Pinafore" will be the nucleus. Works already announced to follow "Pinafore" are "The Yeoman of the Guard," "The Grand Duke," "Ruddigore" and "Utopia Limited."

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE TWO ORPHANS," by the Messrs. d'Ennery and Carmon, will be revived by the Messrs. Shubert, in association with William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wilson, at the Cosmopolitan Theatre Monday night. The all-star cast includes Fay Bainter, Mary Nash, May Robson, Henrietta Crossman, Florence Nash, Mrs. Thomas Whiffen, Robert Lorraine, Robert Warwick, Joseph Ruben, Henry E. Dixey, Wilton Lackaye, Hugh Buckner and William Seymour.

"BEAU GALLANT," a new play by Stuart Oliver, will open at the Ritz Theatre Monday night, the production of The Playshop, Inc. Lionel Atwill is the star. The supporting cast includes Marguerite Borrough, Gypsy O'Brien, Wallace Erskine and Dodson Mitchell.

"A STRANGER IN THE HOUSE," a comedy by Lee Wilson Dodd, will open at the Henry Miller Theatre Monday. Mr. Miller, Katherine Alexander, Sylvia Field, Gail Kane, Jane Wheatley, Marie Curtis, Frank Conroy, Earle Larimore and Elmer Brown are in the cast.

TUESDAY

"H. M. S. PINAFORE"—Gilbert and Sullivan's famous satirical operetta will be presented by the Messrs. Shubert at the Century Theatre Tuesday night. The chief players include: Sir Joseph Porter, K.C.B., Jack Hazzard; Captain Corcoran, Marion Green; Ralph Rackstraw, Tom Burke; Dick Deadeye, William Danforth; Josephine, Marguerite Namara; Little Buttercup, Fay Templeton.

"GLORY HALLELUJAH," a new play by Thomas Mitchell and Bertram Bloch, will be presented by Guthrie McClintic Tuesday night at the Broadhurst Theatre. The cast includes June Walker, Charles Bickford, Felix Krembs, Hilda Vaughn, Malcolm Duncan, Augustus York, Allen Jenkins, Edward Butler, Lee Tracy and others. The play has been staged by Mr. McClintic.

Five Plays for Socialists

THE opening phase of the publication of plays definitely aiming at Socialist propaganda appears in a series of "Plays for the People," published by the Labour Publishing Co., London.

These plays, of which I have received the first five, writes Huntley Carter in the London "Sunday Worker," express the Socialism in which we find the spirit of evolutionary fatalism either dominant or yielding obstinately to the influence of revolutionary free will.

The plays offer very good pictures of certain aspects of the transitional Socialist world, and of the reaction of types of minds definitely Socialist in character to the bourgeoisie. They may be said to glorify the first and to ridicule the second.

There are two three-act plays and three one-act plays. "The Best of Two Worlds" is in three acts and by Monica Ewer, the editor of the series.

It presents an excellent picture of the struggle in the minds of Socialist Intellectuals between the ideal of the olive branch v. force and the reality of force v. force, and the conversion of the idealists to the latter by the truth of actual events. The struggle and conversion may be said to be fully expressed by the leading character, Ruth Allison.

When the play opens a committee has decided that a demonstration shall go to Whitehall "to point out that there are two million unemployed and partly starving men." Ruth dislikes the committee; she fears the demonstration will lead to violence, and she "hates fighting."

She is the soft, unpractical type of Socialist who wants to make the best of both worlds—the world of aesthetic idealism and the world of Humanity, or the world represented by the National Gallery, where she goes instead of attending the meeting, and the world represented by the East End, where she lives with her practical Socialist husband.

Her fear is not shared by her husband, a pacifist and one of the group leaders; nor by John Grant, who has "the fire of a Danton, the poetic outlook of a William Morris, the tender selfishness of a St. Francis." John is really a sad case.

In spite of all the present-day evidence that Capital and Labor do not want to run in a peaceful couple he is firmly convinced that the demonstration will go off like a Lord Mayor's Show when it does not snow. Ruth's fear is justified, and John's hope is not. John goes forth to lead the van,

and the "Thugs" shoot and he is laid out.

Two of the one-act plays are slight and farcical. "Mrs. Jupp Obliges," by Margaret Macnamara, provides an answer to the housing question. But it is not a safe one to follow. The piece is Socialism from the point of view of a charwoman whose motto seems to be: If we cannot get what we want from the rich man without robbing him, then let us rob him.

So when a middle class woman with the brain of a lucifer match comes to occupy a cottage which she has taken for week ends and Mrs. Jupp is invited to do the cleaning Mrs. J.'s mind gets busy with a trick by which she can secure the cottage for her own use, as the one she occupies is only "a couple of attics and a barn for the furniture."

The trick is very simple. She hands the key to the new tenant for the latter to hand it back, and then deposits a week's rent on the floor.

Then she seizes the tenant, moves in her own furniture, and there she is. Three women characters are used to develop the action. They are good acting parts.

"The Bruiser's Election," by Stephen Schofield, is Socialism from the point of view of a pugilist and his wife. The couple have the same ethics as Mrs. Jupp. It is election time, and three parliamentary candidates call to obtain the Bruiser's vote.

The Bruiser and his wife seize the opportunity to extract money by tricks from the three to meet the election expenses of the Socialist candidate.

This gives rise to a lot of comic business, which is well done, but requires to be carefully acted so as not to become sheer clowning.

The third one-act piece is more serious. "The Great Day" is Socialism from the point of view of insurance company clerks.

It presents a picture of an office on the day when six clerks are expecting a raise for a year's overtime. Each reacts according to his character to the anticipated raise.

We are shown hope, fear, indifference, etc. Alone the Socialist among them is prepared to act. The blow falls; the raise is contemptible. Their trust in their employers is betrayed; dividends come first. The Socialist bullies the secretary, but is talked over, and, receiving no support from his fellow clerks, retires beaten, and the grind goes on.

It is a very good piece with a pessimistic tendency, expressing the disease of servility and fear in a group of salary earners of the "gentlemanly" class.

JUNE WALKER



Will return next week in a new play, "Clory Hallelujah," which opens Tuesday night at the Broadhurst.

Richard Herndon to Present
The Gavrilov 'Ballet Moderne'

A new theatre dedicated to terpsichore and devoted exclusively to the presentation of the art of dancing will be offered by Richard Herndon when Alexandre Gavrilov's Ballet, Moderne opens for a limited engagement of six weeks at the Princess Theatre Tuesday night, April 13. Gavrilov was the premier dancer with the Diaghileff Ballet Russe when that company made its first bow to America some eight or ten years ago. One of the most exquisite features of the Diaghileff Ballet was "Spectre de la Rose" created by Gavrilov, a number which will be included in the Ballet Moderne to be presented here. The Russian has been presenting his own ballet all over Europe, returning to America about a year ago to study the customs and tastes of this country that he might weave them into his program, the idea being to present a ballet which shall include the influences of every land and of every period, from the ancient traditional form of dancing to the jazz note of the hour. The program will be unfolded in eight ballets and seven intermedes, and Gavrilov will be assisted by Georgia Ingram, Vera Streiskaya, Serge Nadejda and a company of fifty artists.

Louis Untermeyer and Virginia Moore, well-known poets, attended the performance of "Schweiger" at the Mansfield Theatre last Saturday night. Mr. Untermeyer has always been a great admirer of Franz Werfel, author of the play, and is about to publish a volume of Werfel's poems he has translated.

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THEATRES

THE
STUDENT
PRINCE
WILL RE-OPEN
EASTER MON., Apr. 5
at JOLSON'S Theatre

59th Street and Seventh Avenue
Staged by J. C. HUFFMAN
Evenings, 8:30. Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30

DEVILS
Something to rave about
Percy Hammond, Tribune
MAXINE ELLIOTT'S
THEATRE 47 B'WAY 45th St. MATS. WED. & SAT.

The Clean, Joyous Spirit of the Easter Season...
WHAT'S THE BIG IDEA?
"Anybody who has enjoyed 'Abie's Irish Rose' should be assured for in this piece."
E.W. Osborn, THE WORLD
BIJOU
45th St. W. 4th Ave. MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30

CLEAN, CLEVER, COMEDY / AN APPEALING LOVE STORY / SCINTILLATING DIALOGUE /

That's THE DATSY
CLAIBORNE FOSTER
A BOOTH
THEATRE 45th St. W. 4th Ave. MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30
Now in its third brilliantly successful month.
Special Holiday Matinee Easter Monday

Ernst Toller's New Play a Bourgeois Satire

Ernst Toller's new play, "Der entfesselte Wotan," which may be approximately translated as "Wotan Unbound," written during his imprisonment in Niederschönenfeld, was produced at the Tribune Theatre in Berlin last month.

Here is the German barber hero of a German play at last. There is nothing in the slightest revolutionary about him. Herr Toller has imagined a man following this mildest of callings, Wilhelm Dietrich Wotan by name, who is the living embodiment of the German bourgeois spirit of today. He seeks escape from realities by reading the wildest adventure stories in the intervals of cutting hair and beards, and firmly believes that there is no hope for Germany because the glories of the old regime have departed. Like all barbers, he holds conversations with his customers, and it is while shaving one of them that his great idea comes to him. The man in the chair is going to emigrate, and Wotan seizes upon the idea as the one way out of his present stagnation. He, too, will emigrate to Brazil, and take with him a whole host of suffering compatriots. The phrases that fall from his lips are those known to all readers of the bombastic Nationalist Press. The union with which he repeats them shows Herr Toller as a satirist of no mean order.

Wotan's idea attracts followers; very soon he is the leader of a big movement of people dissatisfied with their present lot and longing to emigrate to the Promised Land. It is not until plans are nearly completed that Brazil, the real and not the imaginary Brazil, intervenes. The authorities on the spot issue a warning against any attempt at wholesale colonization. Wotan is branded more or less publicly as a swindler. His enthusiastic band of followers turn wildly against him. So threatening is their attitude that

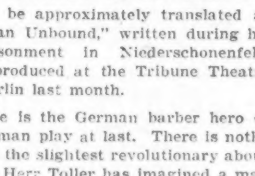
he appeals to the police to take him into safe custody.

That is the end of the play, with Wotan turning full of remorse to his good wife, who has had reason to be jealous of an elderly and bony Countess. This aristocrat, with a Jewish profligate and an ex-officer, are on the committee formed to get Wotan's enterprise in working order.

This play is likely to have some measure of a success d'estime. On the first night the author was greeted with frenzied applause. Yet the critics have almost to a man warned the playwright that George Kaiser and Carl Sternheim are writing this sort of thing and writing it better.

"The Milk Kings," by Claude Habbert, will be the next production at the Triangle Theatre, in Greenwich Village. A program of one-act plays is now being presented.

ROBERTA BEATTY



In "The Student Prince," which moves to the Jolson Theatre Monday night. The operetta will celebrate its 564th performance on that occasion.

George MacFarlane Planning Three New Productions

George MacFarlane, whose "Rainbow Rose" is now successfully launched at the Forrest Theatre, announces that he has a summer musical stock in preparation for the Royal Alexandra Theatre, Toronto, Canada, and three spring troupes. The latter are dramatic productions, one of which is scheduled to open early in May. This is a melodrama called "Stray Sheep," by Charles Washburn, Mr. MacFarlane's press agent and formerly a New York newspaperman. Maude Powers and Vernon Wallace, Leonard Sillman and Pauline Winters will be in the cast.

The two other productions are temporarily titled "Mother and Son," an adaptation from the Swedish, with authorship unaltered, and "Tax on Sin," a tale of primitive emotions, author unannounced.

Broadway Briefs

"Rainbow Rose" has no less than five "sell-outs" this month. Monday, April 5, the Forrest will have the Speedwell Society, and other sell-outs include the Timely Aid Society, Tuesday, April 6; Young Folks' League for Aid to Hebrew Infants, Monday, April 12; Y. W. H. A. of Mount Vernon, Tuesday, April 13, and the Congregation Shaari Zedek of Brooklyn, Wednesday, April 14.

"Bunk of 1926," the revue recently seen at the Heckscher Theatre, will reopen at Daly's Sixty-third Street Theatre on April 12.

Shirley Gale and Will T. Hays are the latest additions to the cast of "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes," which Edgar Selwyn has in rehearsal.

The Lenox Hill Players' production of "Tis Pity," recently seen at the Cherry Lane, will be played on Saturday and Sunday nights at their theatre at 245 West Fourteenth street.

WINTER GARDEN THEATRE
He laughs and the world laughs with him!
AL JOLSON
ARTISTS and MODELS
Includes PHIL BAKER and 18 GERTRUDE HOFFMANN GIRLS

WINTER GARDEN THEATRE
SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT
Always the Best Sunday Entertainment in Town
STARS from the LEADING BROADWAY MUSICAL SUCCESSSES and OTHER HEADLINE ACTS
JACK ROSE, Master of Ceremonies

COSMOPOLITAN THEATRE
Opening Monday Night at 8:30
The MESSRS. SHUBERT, in Association with William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wilson, present an ALL-STAR REVIVAL OF
THE TWO ORPHANS
Prices: Best Seats, Nights (except Sat.), \$3.85; Sat., \$4.40; Mats., Wed., \$2.50, and Sat., \$2.75.

CENTURY THEATRE
Opening Tuesday Night at 8:30
The Messrs. Shubert offer ANOTHER NOTEWORTHY REVIVAL GILBERT & SULLIVAN'S Famous Opera PINAFORE
with a Star Cast including MARGUERITE NAMARA, WILLIAM DANFORTH, TOM BURKE, MARION GREEN, JOHN E. HAZZARD, CHARLES E. GALAGHER, FAY TEMPLETON and an ensemble of 100 voices

THE NEW CASINO de PARIS
2nd and Central Park West. Smoking Phone Columbus 4800. Ent. 4:25. 1st. Permitted
Matinees Thursday and Saturday
The Rerun All New York is Talking About!
A NIGHT IN PARIS
"IT WAS THE MOST OPULENT SHOW I'VE SEEN IN MOONS."
—Alan Dale, N. Y. American.

514 TIMES IN NEW YORK
The Comedy Knockout
IS ZAT SO?
by James Gleason and Richard Taber
Chanin's 46th St. Theat. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:15
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday, 2:15

A THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION
A lively, well-acted and cunningly produced extravaganza... plays on its toes.—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.
A gayly colored, prankful romp of a play... cast generously and staged handsomely.—Alexander Woolcott, World.

THE CHIEF THING
BY NICOLAS EVREINOFF
GUILD Theatre, West 52nd St.
Even. 8:30. Matinees, Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

FORREST THEATRE, 49th Street West of B'way.
EVENINGS 8:30—MATINEES WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY
George MacFarlane Productions, Inc. presents
A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY OF THINKING TOES & TUNES
RAINBOW ROSE
with SHIRLEY SHERMAN LOUISE GALLOWAY HANSFORD WILSON
JACK WHITING VIOLA GRIFFITH JACK SQUIRRE
MARGARET WALKER ALEXANDER CLARK BILLY TICHENOR
PAISLEY NOON 24 CHARLESTON CHARMERS

Genuine Theatre and Life

"The Chief Thing" Strikes Home in the Mood of the Theatre at the Guild

IN "The Chief Thing," by Nicolas Evreinoff, the Theatre Guild is offering one of the most searching and theatrically true plays of its history, in sympathetic and understanding presentation. The settings and costumes by Sergi Soudekine, the co-operation of the author, himself, a director of prime significance in dramatic history, in the direction, combine to produce the fullest effect of the theme. Evreinoff's work with the new theatre in Russia, and the power and beauty displayed in his productions, point to a knowledge of stagecraft that is amply proved in the development of "The Chief Thing."

The basic theory of the drama is that life itself is theatre; Shakespeare's declaration that "all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players" is enlarged and exhibited as the basis of social intercourse and sane human relationship. In a preface to the printed version the author extends this "will to the theatre" to animals and plants "which simulate rocks in order that birds may not peck them"; its impression in his mind seems to have grown largely from a personal experience, not far from the lives of many; he had to live beside a beloved being, knowing this person was soon to die, yet forced to appear happy in order to keep the knowledge and its ill effects from the sufferer herself. Out of such forces grow the symbolism and the theme of "The Chief Thing."

The chief symbolic burden is borne by McKay Morris, who carries a dignity and deep power to the part of the Paraclete, the "Holy Spirit," the adviser and counselor of man, the advocate of good. This man comes into the lives of a theatrical troupe and carries some of the players from the theatricality of the stage to what he calls the "theatricality" (leaving out the "trick") of life and into the lives of a group that needs spiritual consolation and help. Here, the problems of the real persons are worked out in such a way that the actors themselves become more understanding, better human beings—or reveal their inability to accept the best of life. The solution of the play, which is no longer a play, but life itself, is left to the choice of the audience; and every one in the theatre is given leave to select the ending he would desire—in other words, to move in his own days to what destiny he may select, according

to the manner in which he receives the words of the Advocate.

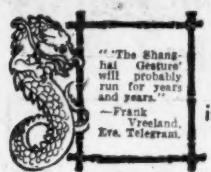
We may offer two objections to the philosophy of the drama: first, that one is not free to choose his own ending, his own course of events and spirit of acceptance; secondly, that illusion as frequently brings unhappiness as true joy. But we can imagine no better presentation, in terms of the theatre of today, of the idea Evreinoff makes truly dramatic in "The Chief Thing." The competence of the long cast makes special mention difficult; Ernest Cossart as the comedian had perhaps moments that gave him greater opportunities; all took full advantage of the impetus their personalities in the play afforded them. "The Chief Thing" is one of the most significant plays New York has recently seen.

J. T. S.

"Ladies of the Evening" at The Bronx Opera Monday

The Bronx Opera House will offer Monday night David Belasco's production of "L

THEATRES



A.H. WOODS
presents
FLORENCE REED
in
THE SHANGHAI FESTURE
JOHN SCOTTON
Directed by GUYMON MONTGOMERY
MARTIN BECK
LIVELY AND WITTY

The NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE

468 Grand St. Telephone Drydock 7516

Repertoire—EVENINGS at 8:30. MATINEES at 2:30
Tue., Wed. and Thurs. Evens.
and Wednesday Matinee

The DYBBUK

THREE
LYRIC
DRAMAS

A Burmese Pwe
A Haydn Opera-Bouffe
A Chinese Fantasy

"The Neighborhood Playhouse has made it exquisitely clear that it is not a playhouse for a neighborhood, nor indeed for the entire city—but for the whole world."—Frank Vreeland in the Telegram.

DRAMA

FAY BANTER



Will play Louise—one of the orphans
—in the all-star revival of "The Two
Orphans," opening Monday night at
the Cosmopolitan Theatre.

Shakespeare's Memorial
Theatre Is Destroyed

"THE Memorial Theatre, which has just been destroyed by fire, was built by the late Mr. Flower, of Stratford-on-Avon, to Shakespeare's memory. It was not a beautiful building; indeed, an irreverent person once described its architectural style as 'late Marzipan.' Nor was it a convenient building. There seemed to be a great deal of it, but inside there was congestion of the most irritating sort; little space in which to work, and a lot of space wasted on decoration. How Mr. Bridges-Adams, the director of the theatre, contrived to do so much admirable work in so confined a space is a matter for marveling."

"But there can be few theatres in the world," writes St. John Ervine in the London "Observer," "so finely situated as the Memorial Theatre was. It stood on the banks of the Avon, without an encroaching neighbor. In Festival weeks one strolled along the riverbank to the theatre, and sometimes, between the acts, cooled oneself by briefly lounging beside it. Multitudes of people from every part of the English-speaking world, and even from foreign countries, will feel regret when they learn of the burning of the theatre, for there were good nights of acting in it, and many of our best players were proud to appear on its stage."

"The destruction of the theatre now is a calamity, for Mr. Bridges-Adams was about to begin a season of the plays in Stratford. Can something not be rescued from the wreck? And now, while the charred beams and scorched bricks are still uncleaned away, may we not begin to plan another Memorial Theatre, one which will be as lovely as its situation, and convenient for its purpose?"

The museum and picture gallery, which were saved, house a rare and valuable collection of Shakespeare's writings, together with autographed letters, photographs and personal relics of celebrated actors, pictures, busts and windows of great historic interest. The well-stocked Shakespearean Library contains many old and rare editions of the plays. The gallery itself shelters the largest known collections of pictures, oils and prints connected with Shakespeare and the drama. Here also is included the original Dorothea portrait of the poet, regarded as the only authentic likeness of him.

As a precautionary measure, all the pictures, sculptures and the 15,000 volumes of Shakespearean literature were removed to the Memorial Lecture Room on the opposite side of the road immediately the alarm was given.

The theatre was opened in 1879, two years after the foundation stone was laid, and for forty-six years a festival has been held annually there to celebrate the poet's birthday on April 23. Since 1910 there has been an additional festival in the summer, which has proved a great attraction to visitors from all over the world.

"Cinderella" to Be Given
At Klaw This Sunday

The Film Associates will give the immortal fairy tale "Cinderella" its first American showing at the Klaw Theatre on Sunday afternoon and evening, April 4. "Cinderella" is an UFA production, which played to enthusiastic audiences in Paris, London and Berlin.

Ludwig Berger uses all the magical possibilities of the camera in giving to the picture all the enchantment of a dream. He has his little joke on Sir Isaac Newton because the picture figuratively sticks its tongue out at the laws of gravitation. The transformation of one species into another, which, according to biologists, should take a few million years, is here accomplished in the fraction of a second. Rats are turned into horses, mice into footmen. The joke is on Darwin; no waiting for natural selection; the fairy tale cannot wait so long for its transformations. The screen is endowed with all the magic of a child's mind; nothing is impossible to either.

"The Flaming Frontier," Universal's screen drama of the West, opens at the Colony Theatre this Sunday. Principals in the cast are Hoot Gibson, Dustin Farnum, Anne Cornwall, Kathleen Key, George Fawcett, Harold Godwin, Walter Rodgers and Joe Bonomo. The production is based on a story of Edward Sedgwick, who directed the picture. The adaptation was made by Charles Kenyon and Edward J. Montagne.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New England

All arrangements for the State Convention to be held Sunday, April 11, at 10:30 a. m., at the party's headquarters, 21 Essex street, Boston, have been made. The State Office expects a full delegation, and many comrades from unorganized sections of New England are planning to attend, so that the convention may be in a better position to plan for organizing unorganized sections.

The State Office reports that the sale of due stamps has been greater than for any months past. The average from January 1 to April 1 has been greater than any month in 1925. Although the members report attendance at local meetings has not been as great as in the past, many locals have appointed dues collectors to see members personally and have them pay up their dues. We have in this way kept many members paid up who would otherwise have dropped out of the organization. We have also used this means of collecting the special assessment of \$1.

Many subscriptions to The New Leader and the American Appeal have gone into the office through this method. The State Office is planning a special campaign in conjunction with the American Appeal to get in touch with the subscribers of Socialist papers in New England with the object of having them either organize a Local or enroll them as Members-at-Large. The State Office has a plan of mailing sample copies of the American Appeal in each town and village through New England directories. The assistance of Socialists or readers of the American Appeal is asked in sending to the State Office the names of friends or acquaintances whom they may think

BETH MERRILL



With "Ladies of the Evening," which is paying a week's visit to the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The program at B. S. Moss' Broadway, beginning Monday; in addition to the regular bill consisting of Fred Ardath, The Brants, Wilson Sisters; will present in conjunction with the N. Y. A. celebration, extra features at every performance.

Fred Ardath, who has been seen in vaudeville as a single, has surrounded himself with a company of nine, and will present comedy production. Jack Merlin, with Lois Evans; The Junetons, and Winifred and Mills are other acts on the bill.

The screen will reflect "The Cohens and Kellys," which has spent the past six weeks at the Colony Theatre. George Sidney, Charlie Murray, Vera Gordon, and Kate Price are the principal funmakers in this film which is a picture of Aaron Hoffman's stage play, "Two Blocks Away."

PALACE

Nora Bayes, Brooke Johns with Goodie Montgomery and the Oklahoma Collegians, Joe Frisco, Jack Benny, Dave Kramer and Jack Boyle, Dan Stanley and Al Birnes, The Klewinings, Lloyd Nevada and Company, Sophie Tucker with Eddie Elkins and Hand will be guest stars on Monday afternoon. Olga Petrova will be guest star Monday evening.

Yiddish Art Theatre Players
Invited to Play in Russia

Maurice Schwartz, the eminent Yiddish actor, has been invited to bring his Yiddish Art Theatre Players to Petrograd and Moscow for a run this summer. The invitation was brought by H. Leivick, who arrived from Russia on the Aquitania last week in time for the opening performance of his play "Rags," at the Bayes Theatre.

Mr. Leivick, a poet and dramatist of international renown, was the guest of the Soviet government, serving during his stay as a member of the committee on the international drama. The Soviet officials, he said, are desirous of extending the welcoming hand to Maurice Schwartz and his Yiddish Art Theatre Players very much as America welcomed the Moscow Art Players and the Chauve

The Cameo Theatre, beginning Sunday, will have "The Grand Duchess and the Waiter," as its screen attraction, with Adolphe Menjou and Florence Vidor in the principal roles.

would be interested in receiving copies of the American Appeal.

Boston General Branch.
At the last meeting a debate was held which was very successful. The subject was, "Resolved, That the Familiar Socialist Doctrine That Wages Ought to Be Increased So as to Enable the Workers to Buy Back All that they produce Is Unsound and Injurious." Henry W. Pinkham took the affirmative and Louis Marcus took the negative. Another debate is being arranged for some time in April.

Connecticut

State

The State Executive Committee met at machinists' headquarters, 99 Temple street, New Haven, Sunday, March 28. Delegates were present from New Haven, Meriden, New London, Hamden, Wallingford and Bridgeport.

It was reported that Local Hartford had placed a city ticket in the field to take part in the election in April. The State organization voted to send the American Appeal for ten weeks to unorganized Socialists of twenty towns. A vote was taken to hold a State convention Sunday, July 25, and secure a speaker of national reputation to speak at a mass meeting on the evening of the 25th.

Hartford

The Local nominated the following ticket for the city election, April 6: Mayor, E. P. Clark; Treasurer, Edward Brink; Comptroller, Henry J. Maloney; Marshal, Joseph Chatkin; Town and City Clerk, Carl R. Johnson; Selectmen, Morris Hurwich, Max Reiner; Registrar of Voters, John Grippo; Board of Education, Abraham B. Hessler, Beatrice Chatkin, High School Committee, Annie Reiner.

A city platform has been printed and will be distributed.

New Jersey

Camden

Mary Emma Foss, ardent and loyal member of the 11th Ward Branch of Local Camden, died recently. Comrade Foss was the wife of Andrew J. Foss and the mother of Mrs. Katherine Rambo and Wilson Foss, all active members of the Socialist Party. Mrs. Foss was an active member to the last, attending all the meetings of the branch as well as doing active committee work. The members of Local Camden attended the services at Oliver Bear's funeral parlors on Monday evening, March 22, where Leo M. Harkins spoke in respect of the deceased.

New York State

Stewart Brown, representing the real estate interests of New York City, butted into the hearing at the State Capitol last Tuesday on the Nicola bill to do away with the death penalty. Mr. Brown, who was the only person to appear in opposition to the bill, declared that he would not only hang a murderer, but would dig him up again and hang him up as a spectacle to the public as in old times. Brown referred to the proponents of measures to abolish the death penalty as "sob sisters." Dr. White, a psychiatrist of national reputation, Arthur Garfield Hayes and others presented the modern scientific view in regard to dealing with crime and criminals, while John M. O'Hanlon put the State Federation of Labor and American Federation of Labor on record for the bill, citing resolutions adopted at conventions of organized labor. Warden Lewes of Sing Sing introduced the speakers in favor of doing away with the death penalty. The position of the Socialist Party was filed by State Secretary Merrill.

It is doubtful if any bill abolishing the death penalty will come out of committee this year, as the reactionaries are in control. However, the few Senators and Assemblymen attending the hearing got some up-to-date information on criminology that was badly needed.

Buffalo

Local Buffalo wishes to announce that all communications which represent the Socialist Party of Buffalo are signed by the secretary, Martin E. Heisler, 616 Genesee St., Buffalo, N. Y. All correspondence intended for the Socialist Party of Buffalo, Erie Co., should be sent to the above address. The next general party meeting will be held Sunday, April 11, at 2:30 o'clock at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee St. All comrades are urged to attend and help bring former members.

Prof. Marc Slonim will speak in English Friday evening, May 7, at 8 o'clock at the Elmwood Music Hall, General admission 25c. If tickets are purchased in advance. General admission at the box office 35c. The subject will be "What Has Happened and What Will Happen in Russia." On Saturday eve-

ning, May 8, a Polish lecture is tentatively arranged. More definite information will be announced later. On Sunday, May 9, at 2:30, Dr. Slonim will lecture in Italian on the same subject.

Dr. Slonim is considered one of the best informed men coming from Russia in the Russian situation. "Friend and foe will greatly benefit by this important and timely subject. Comrade Slonim is a journalist and author of many books in various languages. He is professor of philosophy at the University of Prague. No reserved seats. All members of the party will receive tickets by mail.

New York City

The Socialists and sympathizers of Greater New York and vicinity are notified that money or foodstuffs for the Passaic strikers will be received at the office of the City Committee of the Socialist Party, People's House, 7 East Fifteenth street, Room 401, New York City, and promptly forwarded.

The Socialist Branches of Passaic, New Jersey, have delegates to the Relief Conference, and we are assured by the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New Jersey that our comrades in Passaic will be responsible for all contributions received by them, and all such relief funds or foodstuffs will reach the strikers.

(Signed) AUGUST CLAESSENS,
Executive Secretary,
Socialist Party, New York City
Committee.

Bronx

The membership of Bronx County is urged to sign petitions for the restoration of Debs' citizenship. Petitions can be had at local headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

Branches are urged to elect competent financial secretaries to make correct records and keep members in touch with the organization. Incompetent, indifferent and thoughtless financial secretaries have worked much mischief in the past. The Bronx has had more than its share of such misfortune. Let us avoid it in the future.

Owing to lax methods, the full returns from the recent Ball and Bazaar have not been compiled. Some tickets are still unaccounted for, as well as several ads. Those indebted for tickets or ads are urged to settle immediately as the committee tin charge wishes to submit a final report.

Central Branch, composed of Districts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, will meet Tuesday, April 6, 8:30 p. m., at its club rooms, 1167 Boston road. Committees will be elected to supervise the dance to be held April 24. Members and friends are urged to reserve this date.

Branches 7 and 8 will also meet Tuesday, April 6, 8:30 p. m., at their club rooms, 4215 Third avenue. The lecture committee will report and a date will be set for a May Dance. Provision will also be made for systematic agitation during the summer months. The members will be requested to make greater effort to attend meetings and help increase the membership and do useful party work.

All branches must vote on delegates to the National Convention. This referendum must be filed in the State Office on or before April 21. Get busy. A State Convention will be held in July. Bronx County is entitled to 5 delegates. A state assessment stamp at 25c. has been issued to help defray railroad fare of delegates to this convention.

Members are notified that the purchase of this stamp is mandatory and no member is in good standing unless his dues book shows the purchase of said stamp. Financial secretaries are earnestly requested to take notice.

The referendum on the formation of a City Central Committee will also be ready at the next meeting of the branches.

Brooklyn

1-3-8 A. D.

A special meeting will be held Tuesday, April 6, 8:30 p. m., at 132 Pierpoint street. All members should be on time. Comrade Meserole, who is a member of the Greater New York City Committee, will be present and give a report of its work. Debs petitions are on hand. Get them and get your share.

of signatures. We will also vote for delegate and alternates to the National Convention.

22nd A. D., Branches 2 and 3.
A special meeting of the branches will be held Tuesday, April 6, 3 p. m., at the People's Lyceum, 216 Van Sicklen avenue. The organizer has some plan to propose which is of utmost importance. We will vote on the State referendum for delegate and alternate to the National Convention. Comrades do not let someone else choose for you.

2nd A. D.

A special meeting will be held Friday night, April 2, for the purpose of voting for delegate and alternate to the National Convention, and other very important business. Members are urged to attend without fail.

Yipseldom

New England Convention

The Young People's Socialist League of the New England district will hold a convention in Gardner, Mass., April 3 and 4. This will be the sixth annual convention since its reorganization. The convention, which will meet in the Finnish Workers' Hall, at 31 Ash street, will be called to order by the district secretary, S. Syrjala.

The most important question coming before the convention will be the outlining of an extensive educational program for the year. The young comrades, fully realizing that the effectiveness of their work lies in teaching and training members to understand the social forces working in present day society, are placing the question of education of the youth as the most important matter on the order of business. The convention will also elect the officials of the district organization, a district secretary and district committee.

The convention will be addressed by A. J. Parker, National Director of the Y. P. S. L., and George Makela, editor of the Finnish Socialist daily "Raisvaaja." The Socialist party of the New England district will be represented by Walter S. Hutchins of Greenfield, many times Socialist candidate for Governor of Massachusetts.

This convention marks the fifth anniversary of the district Yipsels since its reorganization after the split of 1919, which wrecked the Yipsel movement in the district. A banquet has been arranged for late Saturday afternoon to celebrate this milestone reached by the New England Yipsels. On Saturday evening a declamation contest, in which contestants from the various circles will participate, will be held. Everything points to a successful convention.

Circle 2, Brooklyn

The meeting of Circle 2, held March 28, was attended by 35 aspiring Socialists. Comrade Erkus started things by his hardly believable announcement that spring is here. Moved by this, the agitation committee announced that they would get to work Wednesday, March 31. Organizer Turgell then presented the circle with their charter. A comrade of Circle 6 asked that we lend our support in the construction of a Y. P. S. L. camp. Six tickets were purchased to start the ball rolling. Four young people were proposed for membership. Lillian Seid, Datha Bernholtz, Ray Cohen and Mr. Herbert Weisberg. Their applications will be voted upon in two weeks. Pamphlets announcing the proposed activities of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum Educational Center were given to members for distribution. An executive committee of seven, four of whom are the major officers of the circle, was elected. They are: Comrades Turgell, Seid, Erkus, Press, Mirman, Schulman and Goldman. Membership cards were distributed, following which the official meeting adjourned in favor of Louis P. Goldberg, who delivered his final lecture on Socialism. His lectures have been very interesting and instructive. Comrade Goldberg offered a prize for the best essay on his lectures, all compositions to be in by April 4 and not to exceed 1,000 words.

Theatre Guild Plans

For Next Season

The Theatre Guild will select its plays for next season from the following: Goethe's drama, "Faust"; "Life Is Real," by Elmer Rice; "E. A. B. A. Black Sheep," a satire on American education, by Burdette Kinn; "The Importance of Being Earnest," by Oscar Wilde; "Crack of Doom," by Victor Victor; "Junes and Maximilian," a drama by Franz Werfel, the prize play of Germany and Austria last season; "Much Ado About Nothing," the first revival of this Shakespearean comedy in a number of years; "The Sea Gull," by Anton Tchekhov; "Right You Are If You Think You Are," by Luigi Pirandella, and "The Lonely Way," by Arthur Schnitzler.

WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ORGANIZED 1884

MAIN OFFICE: 9 SEVENTH STREET, N. Y. C.

Number of Members December 31, 1925

57,115

346 BRANCHES—98 in the State of New York

TOTAL ASSETS—Dec. 31, 1925.....\$2,830,781.96

Benefits Paid

Death Benefit.....\$3,481,370.80

Sick Benefit.....2,461,033.51

WORKING MEN, PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES!

in case of sickness, accident or death!

Death Benefit, \$250. Sick Benefit, \$300 to \$900 for 30 Weeks.

For Further Information Write to the Main Office or to the Branch Financial Secretary of Your District

MUSIC

Final Fortnight of Metropolitan
Opera—"Quichotte" Repeated

MONDAY will open the twenty-third week—last but one of the Metropolitan Opera season, with Aida as a special matinee, sung by Mueller, Branzell and Mauri-Volpi and Schorr.

"La Vida Breve" and "La Rossignol," Monday evening, the former with Borl, Gullford and Tokatyan and Pico; the latter with Talley, Wakefield and Ercole, Didur.

"Tristan und Isolde," Wednesday evening, with Larsen-Toddes and Laubenthal, Schorr.

"Rigoletto," Thursday, with Talley, Bourskaya and Gigli, Basola.

"Don Quichotte," Thursday evening, with Easton, Anthony and Chailapin, De Luca.

"Die Meistersinger," Friday evening, with Mueller, Telva and Laubenthal, Bohnen.

"Traviata," Saturday matinee, with Borl, Egner and Lauri-Volpi, Danise.

"Boris Godunoff," Saturday night, with Clausen, Howard and Chailapin, Rothler.

This Sunday night performances, "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci," will be given in concert form, with Camilla Ponselle, Arden and Tokatyan, Basola in the former and Dalesy and Pullin, Bada in the latter.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC

The Philharmonic orchestras will give their final concerts of the season this Saturday and Sunday. At Carnegie Hall this Saturday night, Fritz Reiner will conduct the last of the Students' concerts.

At the closing concert at the Metropolitan this Sunday afternoon Fritz Reiner will be the guest conductor. The program includes: Beethoven, excerpts from "The Men of Prometheus"; Strauss, "Death and Transfiguration"; Dukas, "The Sorcerer's Apprentice"; Debussy, Prelude to "The Afternoon of a Faun"; Wagner, Dance of the Apprentices and Finale of Act III, from "Die Meistersinger."

Music Notes

The Mischa Elman String Quartet, assisted by William Schubert, viola, will give their third subscription concert Tuesday evening at Aeolian Hall. The program includes: Quartet, A minor, op. 41, No. 1, Schumann; Quartet, B flat major, op. 13, No. 6, Beethoven; Quintet, G major, op. 111, Brahms.

Michael Zacharevitch, violinist, will give his only local recital at Town Hall next Friday evening.

Opera Players Open Season
With "The Immortal Hour"

The Opera Players will inaugurate their first subscription season of grand opera in intimate form at their little opera house, the Grove Street Theatre, 22-24 Grove street, Tuesday night, with "The Immortal Hour," an English opera by Rutland Boughton, which has just passed its four hundred and eighty-sixth performance by the Birmingham Players at the Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, but which has never before been heard in America. "The Immortal Hour" was first performed in August, 1914, during the Summer Festival of the Glastonbury Festival School. Its libretto is adapted from the plays and poems of Fiona Macleod.

The personnel of the Opera Players includes Joyce Borden, J. E. Gurney, Dail Cox, Herbert Rothwell, Marion Kuschie, Willard Vining, Ruth McIvaline. The artistic production has been designed by Jacques Carter and Alberto Bimboni will conduct.

MARION KUSCHKE



Has a leading role in "The Immortal Hour," which will open the season of intimate opera at the new Grove Street Theatre Tuesday night.

Irene Scharrer, English pianist, has recovered from her recent illness and will give her second recital at Aeolian Hall, Friday afternoon, April 9th.

Louis Caton will give a song recital Thursday evening at Town Hall.

Marie Louise Wagner will give her second song recital this season Wednesday evening at Town Hall.

THE NEW LEADER

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	United States	To Foreign Countries
One Year	\$2.00	\$3.00
Six Months	1.25	1.50
Three Months	.75	.75

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1926

THE OIL DEPARTMENT

WHEN the astronomer finds that a star is being attracted in a certain direction he knows that another body is responsible for it even if that body is not visible. In the international system of capitalism the American State Department responds in the same way to an influence that may be on the other side of the world. Sometimes it is a market, often it is oil. It appears more sensitive to oil than to any other commodity and it might well be called the Oil Department.

This week it is the oil situation in France that disturbs the State Department. The Finance Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies has approved a program for a national oil monopoly. Nearly \$20,000,000 of American capital is invested in French oil and American owners get busy. Will Mr. Kellogg please inquire about it for them? Will he? He will. That's what the State Department is for.

So Mr. Kellogg tells the American Ambassador to do this little errand for the American oil investors. He should be discreet, of course. He isn't dealing with Mexico this time and it isn't quite the thing to act like a barroom bully toward France. The latter is one of the big bodies in the orbit of international capitalism and it must be treated with respect. Weaker nations like Mexico that are right at our back door may be kicked in the face but a pal in imperialism must be considered otherwise.

We are sure that Mr. Kellogg will look after American oil in France. It was Marx who said that modern governments are executive committees to look after the affairs of the greater capitalists and the American State Department is an excellent example of the truth of his statement.

THE BURIAL SHARKS

ONE instinctively recoils from the ghoul who coins grief into dividends and yet this motive is active in capitalist society. It is sufficiently active to warrant a national organization to fight the burial sharks who fatten on the bereaved. Of course, one cannot indict the whole profession of undertakers but there has been sufficient gouging of people by a certain percentage of buzzards to call attention to this atrocious form of graft.

It is reported that certain churchmen, sociologists and health workers are undertaking a survey of this evil to ascertain how extensive this type of plundering is in the United States. That extortion prevails there is no doubt. Many families that are plunged into grief because of the loss of a loved one are often left in a mental state that makes them an easy prey of the burial grafter. The unscrupulous undertaker will encourage funeral displays beyond the means of the victims or charge prices out of all proportion to the services rendered.

It is in such cases that the profit-motive at the basis of modern capitalism comes to us as a shock. To normal human beings it would appear that this motive would be neutralized by the grief of women and children. When it appears in the form of the extortioner we recoil in disgust and yet the offender does precisely what is done every day by many in other lines of business. Only recently the sweepings of coal mines were sold all over the Eastern States at a handsome profit to owners and dealers. The acute necessity of millions provided them the opportunity to coin it into private dividends.

The burial shark is certainly a loathsome creature but he is a near relative to a type spawned in all other forms of business and both types are the fruit of the capitalist system of doing the world's work.

SAINTS VS. SCOUNDRELS

WE WOULD like to ignore certain gentlemen with pronounced egos and reserve our valuable space for more important matters, but like a mangy cat that insists on entering your room, we find it necessary to take notice of a nuisance occasionally. This time it is a ponderous letter addressed to Eugene V. Debs by the official hierarchy of the Communists in relation to the strike of the Fur Workers in New York.

There is no need of going into details. Those who have followed the evolution of the cult know what it is without reading it. The creed of these holy men is simple. They see the world divided into two classes. The first class consists of saints who are Communists and neophytes on the way to sainthood who accept Communist leadership. The second class consists of scoundrels who do not accept this leadership. Saints on one side, scoundrels on the other. It is easily understood.

With this explanation our readers will also understand the contents of the letter. The saints are fighting at the barricades for the strikers. The scoundrels, including the Socialists, the Jewish Daily Forward, the employing class in the industry, the workers who do not subscribe to the saintly creed, are all allied against the hierarchy. There is treachery to the left of them, betrayal to the right of them, conspiracy below them, plotting above them, secret treaties with the

bosses against them, gangsters to slug them, henchmen to betray them to the police, baseless gossip questioning their noble motives.

It is old stuff. They have played it on the piccolo, the piano, the bagpipe and the hand organ. The instrument changes, but it is the same monotonous melody that has been played since 1919. The saints are engaged in another gigantic struggle against a world of scoundrels. Will Debs please denounce the organ of the scoundrels, the Jewish Daily Forward, and so help to make the world safe for sainthood? Or has he been bought, bribed or chloroformed by the scoundrels also?

What the saints expect to gain by these performances passes our comprehension. Should this particular curio reach Debs he may be able to get some enlightenment by consulting a textbook on morbid psychology.

MEET FRANKAU

GILBERT FRANKAU, British army officer and novelist, is here. Perhaps you do not know the gentleman. He is here to expose H. G. Wells and G. Bernard Shaw as pernicious Socialists. He denounced—yes, denounced—both Wells and Shaw, and said that "they will be furious when they hear of it." We feel sorry for Wells and Shaw, but Frankau says they must be exposed "for the good of mankind."

The bally old top has other important work to do before he returns home. There is the union between the United States and England which he wants so that both can "preserve peace by means of benevolent force." Get it? "Benevolent force." "For the good of mankind," of course. "Between us we control the sea," says Frankau, "and we control foodstuffs, iron, coal, all the essential elements without which war cannot be waged."

Having "exposed" Wells and Shaw and promoted a union of the United States and England, which is to be cemented by "benevolent force," the dear old chap tells us what it is all about. We are going to have this family reunion with our British cousins in the name of a new world motto—"Make the world safe for English-speaking commerce."

There you are! Certainly, Wells and Shaw will be furious when they hear about it. The world is going to be made safe for hams, shoes, toothpicks, rubber, iron, Sheffield steel, Bethlehem armor plate and all other merchandise that bears the label of the United States and England. Won't Wells and Shaw be furious when they hear how the dear chap is putting it over on them?

Really, this bird is the most amusing thing that has reached the holy land of capital in many moons. Our Babbitts should not neglect him while he is here.

CURBING CRIME

LEGISLATION at Albany in relation to crime is running true to form. Nearly twenty bills are inspired by the same view. The Albany statesmen are engaged in multiplying the cogs in the legal mechanism for snaring offenders. One bill that has passed the Senate provides for a central bureau of criminal identification in the State Prison Department. Others, some eighteen in number, make penalties more harsh and are designed to expedite trials. The whole tendency of the legislation is to make "justice" more swift in its execution.

There does not appear to be any comprehension of the social, economic and psychological backgrounds of crime. These statesmen react to a problem like men of the stone age. They have no knowledge of origins. They can only see effects. They know that there is crime and they think it can be suppressed by dealing harshly with the criminal. The reasoning is as simple as the primitive savage who reasoned that he could see his spirit by gazing in a pool of water or hear it calling to him when the echo of his voice was heard through the hills.

If harshness in dealing with offenders would stamp out crime, then the statesmen should be consistent. They should revive the whipping post, the pillory, the solitary cell, the straightjacket, transportation, breaking offenders on the wheel, draw and quarter them, expose their severed heads to public view, brand them with hot irons, and employ all the other devices that were employed by our ancestors less than 200 years ago.

Of course, these punishments did not wipe out crime, and for that reason it finally dawned on thick-headed legislators that something else was required to deal with anti-social beings. But our "statesmen" have learned nothing new. They still live in the eighteenth century.

A BLOW TO MILITARISM

ONE of the most encouraging signs of the present period is the increasing courage displayed by students and teachers in educational institutions in fighting the effort to goosetep education and to make the schoolroom a military barracks for potential soldiers. Since the end of the World War many of our military gentlemen have strutted and blustered after a fashion as cocky as any Prussian or French militarist. The impudence of these fops extended so far that they snooped into all sorts of organizations and took them to task if they opposed transformation of American youth into conscripts for American capital.

These upstarts have by no means been checked, but it is certain that their influence has declined in the past few years. The militarist caste is an inevitable offshoot of imperialist capitalism, and its members become insufferably arrogant after they get a taste of blood. The World War gave the breed its first great opportunity in this century and it is still waging the fight for militarizing education but the increasing resentment of teachers and students is making them more careful about offending by their insolent manners.

One of the most encouraging victories over the militarist caste was won in a section where we least expected it. In Massachusetts high school principals and authorities of State educational institutions in session at Amherst by a vote of 300 to 9 recorded their opposition to military training in these institutions. This is all to the good and it will encourage teachers and executives in other States to follow the example.

The Dead Cities of Ceylon

Where Ancient New Yorks Once Thrived

By J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.

THE day is over. The sky is a vast dome of barbaric color, and the cold breath of night is beginning to fan our burning faces. The mountains that have blazed all day are now a cooling indigo, the jungle a deep black green, the lake a sober blue to be lit presently with patches of golden glimmer from the first stars. The fireflies are glowing; the cormorants' splash has become louder from the water; the cranes fly heavily in the gloomy light; the croaking chorus of the frogs has opened; strange sounds of restless creatures come up to us, and the white robes of the people going home on the path on the top of the hill are like ghosts amongst the trees. I lie outstretched on a chair on the Rest House verandah, tired after a long ramble amongst the ruins in the jungle.

Ceylon is a small island. To say that it has a long and heroic history would surprise most people. To them it is a place of tea and rubber, a place that used to give out into the breezes the delicious scents of spices, a place of a few white planters and of thousands of colored laborers—only that and nothing more. That, however, is Ceylon fallen from its high estate, Ceylon the bondsman, Ceylon whose heroic days are past and whose money-making servitude has begun. I came to see the Ceylon of my dreams and have found it. Nurtured in the Peradeniya gardens I found the spices, and I buried my face in them. They were like incense of romance, the scents of the cargoes of nutmegs and cloves; cinnamon and camphor, that now sail on no seas. In clearings in the jungle I saw the ruins of temples, palaces and great cities reputed to have been as populous in their time as New York now is.

The most impressive of all is Anuradhapura, the most interesting for the sightseer the newer Polonnaruwa, the most dramatically striking, the rock palaces and fortifications of Sigiriya. The first was the metropolis of the Cingaleses, founded about 437 B. C. and lasting for fourteen centuries. All that now remains of it are the scarred and broken six dagabas, enormous dome-shaped solid masses of brick which, seen from afar, look like hills in the trees, built to enshrine some sacred relic; pillars curiously carved, many of them inscribed, many standing like Stonehenge, many smaller like stones in some vast neglected churchyard; images of Buddha and of kings of heroic size; elaborate carvings, flower altars, exquisitely fashioned steps, floors of chased stones.

There is a graceful peace about Anuradhapura. Its aggressive might, its force in thought and action, its striving to be great and glorious have gone, giving nothing to the spirit of the place; an artistic and spiritual grace and dignity alone remain. It grips one's affection, as an aged woman

of serene beauty does. On one side of it is the enormous lake which it is difficult to believe was dug by the hands of man for irrigation purposes, and what we now see of the city is a long, narrow strip of jungle clearance dotted thick with the grouped remains of what were once proud buildings. There were palaces, but they—even 1,600 pillars of the Brazen Palace—are subdued. Their heads are not lifted up in pride; they are bent in reverence. They are paying humble homage to the spirit of religion that dwells in the monastic foundations all around them. Anuradhapura is an elysian field of yellow robed priests with tinkling temple bells and throbbing temple drums. It is a place of pilgrimage on the very outskirts of this troubled world of sense.

So profoundly impressive is this city of the dead and of glory that has set that the Bo-tree which still lives in it and is guarded by walls and gates and fees and priests—quite, barefooted, unobtrusive gentlemen—is a bit of a pathetic jar. If I were a Buddhist I suppose that would not be so, for the parent stem of this tree was brought from that under which Gautama attained to the Buddhahood. To the Western sightseer it is the oldest tree in the world, so far as we know, and has been growing there since 244 B. C. Propped and patched, enclosed by whitewashed walls and railings, elevated on platform upon platform, surrounded by little altars where dying flowers give forth heavy odors and guttering candles emit rancid smells, it is still green, and its leaf apparently faithless never. But it is only a show.

Eight miles through a jungle-encompassed road from this place is a hill shrine which I would not have missed for worlds. You climb the hill by a broad stone stairway of 1,800 steps and on the way pass cool bathing tanks, monastery ruins, carvings, grouped on grassy flats on the hill side or strewn about in the jungle. A maze of paths lead you into jungle entanglements, where you come across surprising works in building and sculpture. From the top you behold a vast amphitheatre of jungle lying for miles and miles all around with the dagabas of Anuradhapura in the midst, quaint hills, and the glorious mountains of the Kandy ranges rising up like the jagged ruin of a basin. Here, according to story, the saintly son of Asoka landed from India, met miraculously the King of Ceylon, and converted him to Buddhism. Here is the stone bed where the saint slept and the platform where he contemplated. Everything is in keeping—the fresh warm air, the expanse and distance, the peace, the towering rock. If such a thing ever happened it was surely here. There are places where the soul of a religion that has been corrupted dwells in eternal purity, and this is one of them.

Polonnaruwa is more favored by sightseers. The ruins are not so "ruined," for it dates from the middle of the 12th century; it is more ornate; the jungle is more attractive; one of the best rest houses of the island is there. Its architecture is impure, and it whispers to one of a slack time, more sensuousness, decadence. To go from the old capital to the new is like going from pure folk-song to a jazz organ. But still the eye and the hand that made these buildings were skilful, and temples stand there a delight to see. Again, it is a large clearing in the jungle crowded with ruins of palaces and temples. There are devils amongst its ghosts, though, and when in the gathering shades of night a jackal slinks across your path or a snake rustles the grass you are not disturbed. These are the living offspring of the second and the last great capital of the kings of Ceylon.

There are forbidden "damned spots" in the records of Ceylon, and one of the reddest is that of the impatient son of the king by a low-born mother, who barbarously killed his father to gain a throne. This happened about the middle of the fifth century. In the midst of the forest rises a huge black rock 400 feet high, shaped like a monster sarcophagus. Thither went the paricide, ran great galleries around it, built against its wall a colossal lion, between whose paws and up whose throat went the road to the summit, raised great paces on its top, planted gardens and quarried tanks. There the sinner lived in state, posted his sentries, and for years awaited his doom, hoping in the meantime to win respectability by charity. There are places that have ceased to be things, and have become spirit. As we approach this dark forbidden rock you feel an awe and a dread as though Styx ran between it and you and it belonged to the world of the shades who wander about with an eternal curse upon them.

To these places the white-robed pilgrims go and find something which the hearts of all men desire. But when they have left and silence returns the jungle creatures wander out to where until recently they were sole masters. One night I saw a procession marching with drums and torches to an old temple restored. It woke the night with its shouts; its flames shot through the trees; its air balloons floated up into the darkness and fell amidst fountains of stars. In an hour it was all over, and as we returned to our places the jungle awoke—bark challenged bark and moan replied to moan. Then the benignant moon rose above the trees, and in a whisper gentler than the night wind consoled us with its reminder that in death and ruin there is light and beauty.

THE CHATTER BOX

An April Song

I must sing an April song, an April song, an April song,
I must find a theme ere long,
Or she will trick away;
And all the impy sprites who dance within my brain
Like showers of rain,
Like drops of silver splashing rain,
Will find no time to play.

I must play an April song, a laughing song, carousing song,
A careless and a rousing song,
As reckless as the rain,
To sing to sorry souls who have a goading load beyond
their share,
That they may dance as loose of care
As eaves within my brain.

An April song is not a song for dirty money, dizzy men,
For idle men or busy men
Of great or blue degree;
An April song is only sung by minstrel men to weary men
To make them strong and cheery men
Proud marching to be free.

Anton Romatka, one of our contribs, and a great patron of the greatest art, Poetry, is now conducting a Poetry Forum every Tuesday evening at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue, where young poets particularly, and old poets by preference, read their verses to an audience of poetry lovers. The charge for admission is only twenty-five cents, and we can assure our readers a great deal more than their money's worth at every reading. Romatka is to be honored and congratulated over his most worthy endeavor. Many of our contribs are scheduled to perform there, including yo editor.

Dream

I have a dream
All hidden away,
Silver with star dust,
Scented with May.

Wrapped in cobweb
Of delicate bliss;
A dream of the days
We dared not kiss.

—Kate Herman.

We hate an electric sign. Anything it blazes forth to announce gives us the unsettled feeling of being half aware that we are about to be swindled. That was why we did a bit of hesitant posing the other night, before we ambled into "THE PARADISE" black and tan cabaret de luxe, on upper Lenox Avenue. The lights of the sign reading "Paradise" were still flicking before our eyes as we groped through the demi-darkness of the dance hall. A darker somebody led us to an aperture where our coat, hat and muffler were exchanged for a pasty bit of pasteboard, a still darker entity half jostled us towards what was slowly recognized as a table and chair against a wall. Presently we were seated, we ordered a sandwich and some ginger ale, and settled ourselves back to become acclimated to the hectic skelter of sound and motion that filled the place.

On a half-dias before the dance space sat the usual

group of usual ragtimers, with the usual brass, cymbal, kettle-drum, and drumstick, mooning out the ultra usual, "Slap Me Sally—Remember the Night" wootzy ooze. By the glittering titter from their teeth, and the ogling whites of their eyes, we assumed that the colored gentlemen of the band were quite pleased with their rhapsodic efforts. A slow mass of shapes on the floor made queer convulsive jerks at the irregular polyrhythm of the music.

To us, however, all this muscular contortion that was taking place at the "Paradise" black and tannery appeared woefully sad. For we had lived through more than two decades of dancehall epilepsy, from the days of the Sam Paul Association "affairs" at Hennington Hall on East Second St. through Webster and Tammany Hall artists and yokels revelries, right into the Night Club ginnings of the roaring Forties, and the Grass Widow conventions of the anoring Seventies. So this was "Paradise."

It took some twenty minutes of circumspection to include all the eccentricities that exhibited there. The most extraordinary of them being, of course, the sight of white man dancing with dark lady, and dark man St. Vitus with fair damsel. There being no trace in our ancestry that ever streaked nearer to the Mason and Dixon line than Ludlow Street, New York, or Smolensky, Ulitzin, Wilna, of old Russia, our blood hardly raised a tenth of a degree in resentment at the racial co-mingling. Some of the dark ladies were exceptionally graceful dancers in spite of the jazz handicaps; all the colored lads certainly so. And since dancing was presumably the object of the "Paradise," and since this was a free country, so ordained by numerous sacred American documents, and since all God's Children Got Wings—why not this genial and mixed comradeship of the bassoon?

Personally, however, we had always believed, and surely do now, that all this jacked-up sensationalism of the colored cabaret among our white folk was a mere intellect-dumb just another one of their piffing bubbles. Somewhere, we suppose, there are always jaded souls, to whom all normally rutted sensations are lost, whose burdens of well-schmerz are fearful, and whose lives must necessarily be short, merry and unmarried; whose fear of sentiment is unto mania, and yet croon out their days to the sniffling rhythm of Edna Millay's "Candle."

"But oh, my foes, and oh, my friends,
It gives a lovely light."

For such, perhaps, and the self-finding mute and inglorious Robert W. Services of the open spaces who visit this city with scarlet paint and gallivanting ambition, the Harlem "sensation" halls may be of some relief.

If it were not for the fact that we have always held the Negro worker in high regard as a human being, in all things equal save his opportunities in a white world, we might have left the "Paradise" unscathed. But somehow we feel, in spite of the special feature writers who deluge the Sunday Magazine sections of metropolitan dailies with yards of pale pother about the Negro, jazz, dance, juggle, primordial sensuality, and so on—that these deas no more represent the true Negro life, his hopes and ideals, than a coke joint on Mott Street might portray the musical genius of Leonovello.

They may afford a rather empty source of idling for such ultra refined intellects of the white race, as may have the time and money to indulge jaded senses; they may be a source of low income for such denizens of the black races as are paid to dance with white partners, and the long-winded, cartilage-jointed singers and dancers who moan and gyrate and convulse through their interminable dime and quarter squeezer. The owners may find this sort of undoubtedly legitimate pursuit quite profitable. All that is none of our unholy business. But we might venture to remark that to consider the Negro himself as being responsible for the grinnity, lowdownness, and unrestrained ugliness of these places as a sensational entertainment projects, is a distinct slur upon the ideals and a direct insult to the character of the oldest and most honorable race of workers in the world.

S. A. de Witt.

The New Leader Mail Bag

Civil Liberty Information Wanted
Editor, The New Leader:

A group of us here in New York, both Americans and representatives of foreign-speaking groups, are engaged in helping political prisoners abroad. We organized last year into the International Committee for Political Prisoners. We are raising relief funds and arousing American public opinion by publicity and pamphlets. We have already published one on "Political Persecutions Today" and a book of "Letters from Russian Prisons." Material on Italy and Poland is about to be issued. Investigations are being made in Bulgaria and Hungary. Other countries will be covered by Americans abroad this summer.

But we cannot get all the information needed through these contacts. May we ask your readers to send us any material they have, particularly letters from persons exiled for their views or opinions in any country? Letters which show the reasons for their trial or exile, and conditions of exile or imprisonment, would be particularly suitable for publication. The names of the senders can be withheld. All we need to be sure of is that the letters are genuine.

Any documents or other information would also be helpful. Communications should be addressed to the International Committee for Political Prisoners, Room 410, 2 West 13th Street, New York City.

Among the members of the committee are Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, Henry G. Alsberg, Eugene V. Debs, Arthur Garfield Hayes, Norman Hapgood, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, David Starr Jordan, Robert Moras Lovett, Judge Julian W. Mack, James H. Maurer, Father John A. Ryan, Norman Thomas and Oswald Garrison Villard. The officers are, in addition to the undersigned, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, secretary, and Anna N. Davis, treasurer.

Very truly yours,
ROGER N. BALDWIN,
Chairman.

New York, N. Y.

Claessens Favors Thomas

Editor, The New Leader:

There is a referendum before the branches of Locals New York and Bronx calling for the election of a delegate and alternate to the National Convention of the Socialist Party to meet in Pittsburgh, Pa., on May 1st. My name appears on the ballot in contest with Comrade Norman Thomas. This is an error. I realize as keenly as any New York Socialist that there is no better comrade to represent us at the coming National Convention; no man so well informed and in touch with American conditions and the sane Socialist attitude towards American problems as is our esteemed comrade, Norman Thomas. And I have not yet developed the ego or presumption to run against him or other comrades like him. Of course, it's too late to print new ballots. Therefore, I beg the comrades of Local Bronx and New York to kindly ignore my name on this ballot.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) AUGUST CLAESSENS.
New York City.

Poetry's Future

WE would like to be facetious and descend to the vernacular with some such reply as "So is your old man," for we feel that this answer is just as pertinent as the treatise that follows Mr. Trevelyan's question. (THAMYSIS, or Is There a Future for Poetry? By R. C. Trevelyan. Dutton & Co., N. Y.; \$1.)

Is there a future for poetry? he asks, and then rambles off in a feeble discussion of what he considers poetry. And we feel, having pondered over this volume, whose chief merit is its brevity, that he thinks there is no future for this fragile art. His attitude is similar to that of the popular song of a few years ago which celebrated a young lady who "had no future, but oh, what a past!" Mr. Trevelyan seems to be of the opinion that all the good poetry lies in the past.

Perhaps it is just as well that there is no future for the sort of poetry that this book champions. It claims that "cloudy vagueness . . . may well be necessary and legitimate qualities of a poem"; and concedes the poet's right to use inversions, and to modify the usual grammatical order. This is just the sort of thing that modern poetry is attempting to get away from, the sort of thing that can most effectively prevent any future to this art. The author makes a most astounding statement in attempting to diagnose poetry. He says, in effect, that unless the reader, silent or otherwise, reads poetry in a properly oracular manner, with all due emotion and attention to the rhythms, he is not reading poetry, but prose! Ergo, give a child who has no knowledge of reading or rhythm Shakespeare's sonnets, Dante's "Inferno," or any of Milton, to read, and the child will not be reading some of the world's best poetry, but merely prose.

If the poetry of the Victorian Era, of which Mr. Trevelyan seems so enamored, is the goal set for modern poets, it is a blessing that there seems to be no future for it.

Gloria Goddard.